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THE BASIC HOPE FOR RELIGIOUS FREEDOM IN THE WORLD OF ISLAM

No problem connected with the world mission of Christianity seems more baffling than that of religious liberty in Muslim lands. Wherever Islam is the dominant religion or Muslims are clearly in the majority, the freedom for a Muslim to accept Christianity and the freedom for Christians to propagate the Gospel among Muslims are always on a precarious basis. Perhaps nothing is more discouraging for missionaries in Muslim fields than this. After more than a century of Christian missions in some of these lands, the problem seems to many as far from solution as ever.

As we survey the Muslim scene today, are there signs anywhere that this wall of intolerance is being breached? At least we can take some comfort in the fact that the death penalty for apostasy from Islam is now only rarely exacted. Yet it is still true that, generally speaking, the social and economic boycott, the day-by-day persecution, the disgrace which falls upon the Muslim who openly confesses his faith in Christ, are just as difficult to endure as the fear of death, and in some countries the convert to Christianity still considers it the part of wisdom to flee his native land. Yet neither this way out of the dilemma nor the policy of the "secret believer," which some frustrated missionaries advocate, has any promise in the building of an indigenous church, which must be the ultimate goal of the missionary enterprise.

Is there hope for a solution to our problem through world opinion, as best exemplified in the inclusion of religious liberty as one of the basic human rights? We may well back up every effort in this direction undertaken through the United Nations or by any other organization, but until true world government becomes a reality, the most complete

definition of human rights will in itself have little influence on countries where for thirteen centuries the Muslim conception has obtained that religious liberty at most means the right to practise the religion in which one was born. In fact, with nationalism on the increase in nations where Islam predominates, we may expect some retrogression in this regard. The Christian in Pakistan, for example, is likely to find that political freedom for his new nation spells less religious freedom for him and his Church. Thus far, no matter how secular Muslim states have become, the assumption is that Islam, officially or unofficially, remains the religion of the state and all other religions have inferior status.

Because of this generally unfavorable prospect for full religious liberty in Muslim lands, the remarkable progress in this in Iran seems to the writer to have a sound basis for hope to everyone interested in winning Muslims to Jesus Christ. Here is one of the "first-century" Muslim nations where we find that the modern missionary movement has produced at least the beginnings of an indigenous Christian church, where a number of congregations are composed mainly of converts from Islam, and where, to a considerable degree, Christianity has become "respectable." This one word represents a milestone in religious liberty, for it marks progress from deadly antagonism towards missionary Christianity to widespread admiration of its teaching and relative toleration of those Muslims who have openly given up Mohammad for Christ.

One could give many instances of the way in which Christianity has so influenced the thought and life of Iran as to bring about this relative understanding and toleration, even though Islam is still the official religion of this country. However, it may more vividly illustrate our point to tell in some detail of a surprising article which appeared in the weekly illustrated edition of the Teheran "Ettela'at" ("News") at the end of December, 1947. This is the equivalent in Iran of the Sunday magazine section of "The New York Times" and is very widely read. The editors are at least nominally Muslims, and the same issue contains the biography and doctrines of three famous Mujtahids, leaders of an

influential Muslim sect, accompanied by their pictures in full panoply of robes and turbans.

The "headline" article in this issue, however, is by S. Partow and fills nearly four pages. The title is printed to resemble a Christmas greeting card and is preceded by an explanatory sentence. The translation is as follows: "In these days, as customarily at the end of the western year, Christians hold splendid celebrations on account of the birth of their spiritual leader. . . . This spiritual leader, the teacher of love and friendship, is Jesus Christ."

Then follows in great detail a beautiful paraphrase of the nativity story in Matthew. The star is explained as a "Nova" and the Magi are said to be traditionally from Iran. The writer adds: "The Magi had long known that a new truth would appear, a truth that would renew and cleanse the corrupt old world. The people were longing for a Messiah. Men and slaves who were in trouble and under the yoke of landowners prayed to God to send a Saviour." (Note that one of the evident purposes of this article is to hold out Christianity as an alternative to Communism, now making a strong bid to the underprivileged of Iran.) Accompanying this section are four large illustrations: the Madonna and Child, Modern Bethlehem, the adoration of the Magi, and the shepherds visiting the Holy Family.

Much the greater part of the long article goes on beyond the Christmas story. The life and teachings of Jesus are sketched. "He was a great teacher," says the author. "He had a warm and healing spirit and found his way to the hearts and souls of men. He was like a magnet drawing men to him. His sayings were not only new and touched the heart but there were astounding truths in them and they had a limitless effect on men. He took thousands of the miserable and unfortunate on his shoulders and gave them a better life, not only in the next world but in this."

The story of the woman taken in adultery is effectively narrated. The opposition of the Jewish leaders to Jesus is explained thus: "When the high priest asked him: 'Are you the Son of God?' and he replied: 'Yes, I am,' they considered him a sinner and brought him to judgment."

There is a full account of the Last Supper—"This is my body"; "This is the New Testament in my blood"—and of Gethsemane—"Not my will but thine be done." Then the arrest and trial, the crucifixion, and the resurrection are described. "They crucified him without mercy. It grew dark when his pure soul went up to heaven. On the third day, the first day of the week, Jesus Christ showed Himself to several who recognized him and believed on him and in this manner His resurrection and His being alive for eternity took root as the belief, the life and the hope of the Christian Church."

To this well-balanced selection of material from the Gospels as to the genesis of Christianity, the author adds interpretive paragraphs. He says that "with the rise of Christianity a new civilization began. It had a hard time but spread among the poor. It taught love to men and lifted humanity. The oppressed countenance and the emaciated face which in the way of faith and love for the freedom and honor of mankind ascended the cross is the best symbol of sacrifice and love of mankind."

Perhaps Mr. Partow reflects personal contact with Christianity when he writes: "Every year on the eve of December 25, Christians gather at midnight in all the churches of the world and kiss one another. This kiss is the sign of love and the reason for the increase of love among men."

In only one place does the author cast any doubt on the full Christian belief, perhaps as an anchor to windward against the ire of staunch Muslims. "Christians say," he writes, "that Jesus is the Son of God but it is better to call him 'the child of love'—he who was born in love, who taught love and friendship to men and for the love and freedom of men went to the cross."

The article closes with a quotation from the poem "Tarji' Band," composed in the eighteenth century by Hatef, one of the few good Persian poets of modern times. Before quoting this, the author writes: "Among the poets in Persian literature Christ has a lofty place and if we notice carefully, we will observe that this place is no lower than that given to him in the Gospel."

A translation of Hatef's lines follows:

In the church from a lovely Christian girl
I asked: "O you who have entrapped my heart,
How have you dared to call the one and only God
'Father, Son and Holy Spirit?' "
She opened her sweet lips and said to me
With a honeyed smile:
"If you knew the secret of the unity of God
You would never call us Infidels.
Silk would not become three things
If you call it 'Parnian,' 'Hareer' and 'Parand.' "*
We were in this conversation when from nearby
The church bell rang out this melody:
"There is only one and no one else but he.
God is one and no other is there."

To appreciate fully the implications of this article, one must keep in mind that fifty years ago for a period of time the Shah of Iran stationed police guards at the doors of the mission chapel in Teheran to keep out all except Christians, and that only a few years earlier, Dr. Sa'eed Kurdistani, the first convert from Islam in Iran who "stuck," had to flee from death at the hands of his own brother after he confessed Christ openly in his native city. Since that time there has been such a growth in the spirit of toleration that a decade ago the writer took part in a public service in the same Teheran chapel, at which nearly a score of Muslim young men were baptized and were congratulated in the mission garden afterwards, not only by Christians but by Muslim friends who attended the service in large numbers.

What is the explanation of this tolerant public opinion as to Christianity in Iran, as contrasted with some other Muslim countries where missionaries have labored just as long? Is it because in Iran Shiah Islam holds sway and not the Sunni branch? This may have a bearing on the matter and yet in some ways, notably in the frenzied Muharram ceremonies and in refusing to let non-Muslims set foot within their mosques, Shiah Muslims have been outstanding in their fanaticism. Is it because Iran is traditionally the seedbed of heresy in Islam and has become more lenient to non-

* Three words used in Persian with the identical meaning of "silk."

orthodox attitudes? Is it that Iranians are largely of Caucasian as contrasted with Semitic stock and with their more artistic and humanistic temperament, have always been restless under the yoke of a cold, stark monotheism out of the desert? Is it because missionaries in Iran, partly by force of circumstances and partly by sheer determination, have from the outset worked towards the conversion of Muslims rather than the revival of oriental Christians?

Doubtless all these have some bearing on the growing religious freedom in Iran, which has accelerated in recent years, but the writer believes that the fundamental reason is the winsomeness of Jesus Christ. If missionaries and national Christians will preach and live, with tact, love and undiscouraged patience, the full meaning of the Incarnation of God in Jesus Christ, sooner or later He will win His way to the heart of Muslims everywhere and His Church will become an indigenous part of the life of every nation in the Muslim world. It is this persistent witness to Christ which in the long run will overcome all fanaticism and all governmental opposition to full liberty of the spirit, and which will eventually create that tolerance in individual hearts so necessary for the recognition of freedom of religion as a basic human right.

Can we not then in faith believe that the God who has made possible the publication by Muslims in one Muslim country of this remarkable article, so fully outlining our Christian belief and so directly contradicting Quranic teachings as to Jesus, is able eventually to accomplish His purpose of complete freedom of religion everywhere? Even in Iran converts are still subjected to petty persecution and lack full civil liberties, and in some sections fanaticism is still strong, but the same "softening up" process which is so evident there, is at work to a greater or less extent in nearly every Muslim land today. Surely this is evident enough to fill with unquenchable hope every missionary to Muslims. His continuing evangelistic task is clear; he can safely leave the time of the Muslim harvest with God.

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WOMEN OF THE WESTERN SAHARA DESERT

It was in 1933 that Mr. Watson and I set out to work in the Sahara. We went in answer to what we believed was the message of the Lord to us: "Arise and go towards the south . . . which is desert" (Acts 8:26).

We commenced our work in Touggourt, an oasis (Oued Rhir) in the nothern Sahara possessing some 2,000,000 palm trees and 75,000 inhabitants. The "Territory of Touggourt," including the Oued Rhir and two other oases, has a total population of 212,000, and, up to that time, had never had a resident missionary. The town of Touggourt has a population of 11,000; the remaining number reside either in the many surrounding villages or Bedouin encampments.

During a trek to Tamanrasset in 1935 we reached eight other oases and in 1939-'40, travelling by another route (but spending as in 1935, the summer and winter at Tamanrasset), we reached the inhabitants in other areas, hitherto unreached, and crossed the desert from north to south, selling the Scriptures and good evangelical literature and sowing the Seed by informal talks along the way. These treks brought us into contact with many races including French, Arabs, Jews, Touareg, Mozabites and Hausa. However, as Dr. Wakefield has written about her contacts with the women of the Hoggar,* I will confine my remarks in this article to the Arab women and children of the more northern oases.

When contemplating work in the Sahara I had been very much concerned as to how a lone missionary could meet the women and children. As a junior missionary in the north I had never been allowed to enter unknown Arab houses alone. While thinking and praying over this difficulty Psalm 121:5, "The Lord is thy keeper," literally lived with me. Some of the old native streets in Touggourt are very dark; but with "clenched" teeth I held on to that promise. The houses are so built as to meet one another over the street, thus turning these narrow thoroughfares into what look like

* See THE MUSLIM WORLD, Vol. XXXIX (January 1949), pp. 6ff.

dark tunnels. A small opening is provided at intervals to allow a little light to penetrate; nevertheless even on the sunniest day the streets have a very gloomy appearance and tend to give a "creepy" feeling to the newcomer. Visits to the homes, however, were not the nightmare I expected, as approach was facilitated through contact with the children who later chaperoned me through the streets to their various dwellings.

These village homes of the desert are primitive mud-brick houses with a central court. A wealthy family might own an entire house, but the poorer possess only one or two rooms. In the dwellings of the poor, the floors are usually covered with sand. People a little wealthier employ a local cement or plaster. A floor composed of this material must not be scrubbed nor even brushed frequently, as it quickly crumbles away and forms large holes which can be a danger to the unwary visitor. Such dwellings of the poor are generally without windows; a hole in the wall or the none-too-well-fitting door seems to allow enough light and air to meet the requirements of the occupants. A fire is usually built on the floor in the middle of the room, the smoke disappearing either through a hole in the roof or through the open doorway. The only pieces of furniture which these poorer homes have are low tables, a box for jewelry and precious articles of clothing, and perhaps a very primitive bed of bamboo which is used in the summer when scorpions render sleeping on the floor quite dangerous. Cooking is usually done in earthenware vessels, and water is carried in jars of the same material, or in goat-skins, although European pails and cooking utensils are becoming more and more common.

The more progressive Arabs now possess European beds, tables, chairs, wardrobes, etc. Some of the wealthier Caïds (officials) and merchants have their reception room, at least, paved with European tiles, and now have telephones and wireless sets. Recently we were entertained in the house of one of these wealthy desert Arabs. The guest-room is nicely distempered in cream and white, and paved with modern French tiles. Near the door are the owner's European desk,

telephone and wireless set. Two beautiful hand-woven woolen carpets almost cover the entire floor, while a very dusty table and rickety chairs are provided for guests. In a corner are sacks of dates, and a useful but certainly very ugly out-door ladder is propped against the opposite wall.

The women in this region of the Sahara are darker skinned than their sisters of the north, though not generally black except when there has been intermarriage with Sudanese. They speak Arabic but are usually quite illiterate. The *haik* (outer garment) varies in color and size according to the taste or social standing of the owner. Dresses are always worn long and are usually of printed cotton, the favorite color being red. On special occasions the wealthier Arab women wear bright colored silk frocks with silver belts and embroidered shoes. European shoes to match the native frock in color are also making their appearance. The women prepare and weave the wool for the men's burnous (outer garment), but it is usually men tailors who sew the women's dresses—using Singer sewing machines!

Contrary to general supposition the majority of the inhabitants of these central oases live in towns or villages. There are, however, large Bedouin encampments. From the roof of our former Mission house one could count about two hundred tents scattered in groups over the immediate neighborhood. These tents are made of closely-woven camel's hair and are dyed various colors. This is all the work of the women. Dried palm branches are usually erected in a semi-circle in front of the tents in order to afford the women more privacy, and the enclosed space is used as a kitchen or scullery.

These tent-dwelling women do not veil and have a fine physique, with a most stately carriage due to the fact that they so often need to walk long distances with bundles on their heads. Although some of the Bedouin women may be poorly clad, they very often have quite an aristocratic air about them, and they sometimes appear to regard the European with pity. On the other hand, the older women usually look haggard and neglected. I shall never forget how, in our first years in the desert, a poor Bedouin woman

on seeing us in the distance ran barefoot across the desert, her tattered garments fluttering about in the breeze, her dyed red hair (naturally gray) falling untidily down her back, and on her wizened old face a beaming smile of welcome. Meeting us she embraced us warmly and then, patting me on the arm, said, "Oh, tell me again what you told us last year about doing to others as you would wish them to do to you." We had forgotten about the poor old soul or when we had repeated Matt. 7:12; but evidently a seed of the Word of God had remained in her heart during our absence.

It is very rarely that one finds a woman in the desert with gray hair. When such "disgraceful" gray locks make their appearance the Arab woman's hair is promptly dyed with henna. In the central Sahara hair is often dyed black; and a Touareg woman gave me a recipe for effectively dyeing my gray locks. Here it is: "Put some clean sand in a tin, mix in a little cooking oil and burn it well over a fire. Rub this thoroughly into the hair adding a little perfume and sour milk, and the sure result will be lovely black shining hair." This prescription is effective.

Civilization is making steady progress in the desert. Motor routes across the Sahara have been opened by the French Government. Electricity has been installed in many of the northern oases, and wireless and postal communication is maintained with even the more remote centers of habitation. In each large oasis there is at least one school where European education is given. A hospital or dispensary is also provided for the French military and local residents and a hotel for the use of tourists. One cannot say that these desert-dwellers are clamoring for the culture of the West, but the young men and more progressive merchants do appreciate modern conveniences. There is also a strong nationalistic spirit and a desire among many for further social development. More young men are being sent to European universities, and those who receive a French education in the local schools have a desire for more social progress and education for the younger women.

More schools for Arab girls are being provided by the

French Government or the Roman Catholic sisters. In some cases the Roman Catholic church has been working for over twenty years and in one particular center there are as many as a dozen White Sisters giving medical, educational and social assistance.

What is being done by Protestant Missions? Societies from North Africa have done very good work in some of the more northern oases. Missionaries from the Sudan have reached the southern fringes. But there are still dozens of oases in the northern and central Sahara without a single resident evangelical missionary.

Some of the oases we visited during our treks into the interior have a population of from 4,000 to 30,000 people, yet they have *never* had a resident missionary and, as far as we know, have not been visited by Arabic-speaking missionaries since our departure.

Hospital or dispensary work is not permitted without a French degree or diploma. Help, however, can be given through First Aid and the teaching of simple hygiene. Much can be done through industrial and social work, as well as by direct evangelism. Girls love to attend classes where knitting, sewing, embroidery and other handicrafts are taught.

There is ample work in the Sahara for dozens of evangelical young men and women without their being any over-lapping. Certainly, the Sahara fascinates the tourist but it is only a definite "call" from the Master and a realization of His continual presence that will *keep* a young missionary in this land.

Our sisters in the desert need young Christian women to guide and encourage them in their education, to train them to become more enlightened mothers and better housewives; to advise them in the proper use of greater liberties which are being brought to them with the increasing momentum of Western education and contacts with the culture of the West. Above all they need those who will point them to the One who can give them true liberty, peace and pardon.

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ARCHITECTURAL MASTERPIECES OF THE MUGHAL EMPERORS

One of man's strongest desires is to perpetuate his memory. To this end almost innumerable devices have been employed. A favorite method has been the use of imposing creations from building material. Our own generation is as prone to do this as previous ones have been. Our public buildings, though generally designed for utility, often are memorials to persons or ideas.

In antiquity the Egyptians, Greeks and Romans were outstanding builders. This article deals with the amazingly magnificent buildings of the Mughal emperors in India.

The reign of this line of rulers falls wholly within modern history. Despite some rough treatment in the name of military expediency, many of their buildings remain in a state of preservation that is well-nigh perfect, furnishing abundant material for study.

The Mughal dynasty brought to India strong Central Asian predilections and a keen feeling for natural beauty. But each in succession obeyed his own instincts, education and caprices. Hence they patronized no 'schools' of art, but came to employ an almost cosmopolitan body of artists, Persians, Indian, Turk, and even European who one and all had to adapt their own canons to the aesthetic moods of their employers. . . .

In general the Mughals forbade any sculpture of the human form, but like the Orthodox Greek Church, were usually less rigid toward paintings of it and even fostered portraiture till it reached a high level. Yet with relatively few exceptions, the Mughal buildings were all religious, comprising mosques and tombs or shrines.[1]

In order to begin to appreciate the work of these emperors and to understand the extent of their resources, it is necessary to bear in mind the relationship of the emperor to his country and subjects which prevailed in their day:

It is not to be forgotten that the Emperor was not only the ruler

[1] H. A. Rose, "Mogul Architecture," article in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, edited by M. Th. Houtsma et al. London, Luzac & Co., 1936. For clarity and consistency, each name will be transliterated as it first appears, even though this may involve changing its spelling in later evidences.

but the actual owner of the entire country. All land and all wealth were held simply by his permission. At the death of a noble, his property automatically escheated to the crown, the family retaining such portion as the ruler permitted. Not only were the fixed revenues, as estimated by Bernier, six . . . (crores) of rupes monthly; the tribute of gifts which flowed into the emperor's coffers made the taxes seem small in comparison. Bernier asserts that in the crypts supported by great marble pillars in the palace of Delhi there was deposited a huge store of gold and silver, cast into pieces so large that no thief could carry them away unobserved. The same French physician says that at all times more than two thousand horses, nine hundred elephants, and a great number of camels, as well as sumpter mules were maintained in the imperial stables, along with a full supply of magnificent harness, trappings, and jewelled howdahs.[2]

With this in mind, it is easy to see that the emperor had at his command almost limitless wealth and man-power. The creation of such marvelous buildings as were characteristic of the age is seen to be in part a result of a system of government which has largely vanished.

Of their building patterns, it is said that "the Mughals 'built like giants and finished like goldsmiths.' All the surfaces of these noble constructions are covered with incised work as delicate as the carvings upon a gem. The effect of such fine and simple outlines with the exquisite finish of flat carving is indescribably noble and beautiful."[3]

Unlike the builders of classical antiquity, an artist or builder in the Mughal era could autograph his work. Because of this different custom, something is known of the men who built these great structures and also, in some instances, the reasons for their work, the cost, period of labor, and other details of interest to a technologically-minded people.[4]

Our discussion in this paper will proceed in terms of chronological sequence of the emperors, and for that reason a table of the succession, giving the dates at which each came into power is necessary:

Babar	1526	Humayun	1530

[2] Elizabeth Bisland, *Three Wise Men of the East.* Chapel Hill, N.C., Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1930. p. 41.

[3] ibid., p. 20.

[4] Kumar Goshal, *The People of India.* New York, Sheridan House, 1944. p. 49.

Sher Shah	1539	Shah Jahan	1628
Salim Shah	1545	Aurangzeb	1658
Akbar	1556	Bahadur Shah	1707[5]
Jahangir	1605		

The nominal end of the Mughal period came in 1761, but for our purposes it ended with the close of the reign of Aurangzeb in 1707.[6] From the reign of Babar little has survived to our day. Vandalism, and the succession of rulers who razed the building of their predecessors because of differing views as to proper taste, made the survival of their buildings hazardous. But Babar did a considerable amount of building in stone. He wrote a delightful book of Memoirs, in which is mentioned that at one time he had 2171 stone cutters at work, which implies that he had a proportionate number of masons and other workers in stone.[7]

The single great work that has survived from Babar's time is the Kabul Shah mosque in Panipat, which commemorates both his love for Kabul and his victory at Panipat in 1526.[8] It was this victory which set up the rule of Mughal emperors for the next two centuries.

Humayun, Babar's son, had a much longer reign than his father but was not as great. He is credited with several good buildings of which a few have survived, among them a mosque at Fathabad, near Delhi. Massive and well-proportioned, it uses a bulbous, Persian-type dome, and is the first Indian mosque to have this characteristic style. Other touches of Persian style are the colored tiles employed in the decoration of the mosque. Humayun's tomb at Delhi used white marble instead of colored tiles. On this tomb, the main dome has a narrow drum, a new feature in Indian mosque construction, and on the corners of the structure four cupolas support old-fashioned domes.[9]

Sher Shah's greatest work was his own tomb, a gigantic undertaking, standing in the Shahabad district of Sasaram,

[5] James Fergusson, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture,* revised by James Burgess. London, John Murray, 1910. Vol. II, p. 283.

[6] Martin S. Briggs, "Muslim Architecture in India," in *The Legacy of India,* edited by G. T. Garrett. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1937. p. 246.

[7] Fergusson, op. cit., p. 285. Also, *Cambridge History of India,* IV, 524.

[8] Rose, op. cit., p. 635b.

[9] ibid., p. 636a.

in Bihar. The tomb proper was set in an artificial lake about 1,400 feet square. The plinth and surmounting terrace are over 300 feet each way. The tomb is octagonal and set behind a marble wall. Rich in external details of execution and ornamentation, its interior seems barren and drab. The brilliant colors of the work have not weathered well. As his talent for building is seen in this undertaking, "Sher Shah . . . had either the gift of discovering genius and making full use of it, or he was of a nature that inspired those he employed to their highest efforts."[10]

When Akbar came to power, and had managed to consolidate his realm, a real era of building set in. He is credited with building the tomb of Muhammed Ghusa at Gwalior. The chief feature of interest in this tomb is that it set the pattern, in a measure, for the succeeding tombs of the Mughals. Set on a stone platform 100 feet square, it is large and massive, with heavy, thick stone walls. The chamber of the tomb is forty-three feet square. Standing at an angle to the base is attached a hexagonal tower at each corner.[11]

The two great sites of Akbar's building endeavors are at Agra and Fathpur-Sikri. At Agra he built a palace of red sandstone which has weathered rather badly, but still stands. The general style of his architecture there shows typical flat roofs and flat arches, characteristic of Hindu usage. Utilizing both Persian and Hindu touches in plan and decoration, this palace must have been a wonderful structure.[12] The outer dimensions of the building are 249 by 260 feet, and the great inner courtyard measures seventy-one by seventy-two feet.[13]

"The chief centre of Akbar's building activity is in the city of Fathpur-Sikri, twenty-three miles from Agra, which he founded in 1569, and which was the seat of his court until 1584 or 1585."[14] There is no record of what prompted Akbar to abandon Agra and build this new capital near by:

[10] Percy Brown, "Monuments of the Mogul Period," *Cambridge History of India,* Richard Burns, editor. Cambridge University Press, 1937. IV, 531.

[11] Vincent A. Smith, *Akbar the Great Mogul,* 2nd ed. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1902. p. 432.

[12] Rose, op. cit., p. 636a.

[13] Fergusson, op. cit., p. 292.

[14] Briggs, op. cit., p. 249.

possibly merely the gratification of a building instinct, or a desire to create a magnificent monument to his own reign.[15]

This town was really Akbar's own creation. He did most of the planning and supervision of the construction himself. As laid out, it was seven miles in circumference. There were provided nine gateways into the city, one of which, the "Lofty Gateway," is possibly the most imposing entrance in the whole world today.[16] This gate, which gives into the mosque of the city, was built in 1602 to commemorate Akbar's conquest of Kandesh. The doors into a great structure have always been an architectural problem. Men do not like to feel dwarfed by an entrance designed for their own use. In the "Lofty Gate" Akbar solved this problem by the use of a semi-dome effect which sets the doors in a recess and allows entrances of normal proportions though inclosed by an imposing frame.[17]

The chief building material of Fathpur-Sikri is red sandstone, probably a factor in the poor weathering of the structure. But white marble also was used. A strange contradiction is the use of Islamic domes on buildings which are basically Hindu in design.[18]

One of the glories of Fathpur-Sikri is the mosque. While the apartments for the favorite wives of Akbar are exquisitely done, the mosque and its Lofty Gateway are probably the crowning architectural jewels of the city. The mosque stands on a stone platform 438 by 515 feet. The mosque itself measures 288 by 66 feet, and has three domes. The courtyard is 360 by 438 feet. In the court are two tombs, those of Islam Khan and Salim Chisti. These tombs of white marble are overshadowed by the size and magnificence of the mosque itself.[19]

The desertion of Agra and the construction of the new capital at Fathpur-Sikri may have been ill-advised, but the utter desertion of Fathpur-Sikri after the death of its founder is even worse. It is today a deserted city, in which

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[15] Bisland, op. cit., p. 20.

[16] Smith, op. cit., pp. 438-442. The layout and plan of the city are given on pp. 438-439.

[17] Rose, op. cit., p. 636a.

[18] Smith, op. cit., p. 442.

[19] Fergusson, op. cit., pp. 294-297.

only a care-taker lives, with no adequate explanation for its having been deserted.

Probably the most impressive single piece of work credited to Akbar is his own tomb. Built of white marble, it rises above four platforms of red sandstone. These bases are successively of the following dimensions: 320 by 320 by 30 feet; 186 by 186 by 15 feet, and two other smaller bases of like proportion, each fifteen feet high. The white marble mausoleum which houses the tomb of Akbar is 157 by 157 feet, and is beautifully and delicately carved. But Akbar is not actually interred in this tomb; his body lies in a burial room thirty-five feet square, extremely plain and simple, located directly under the elegant cenotaph which tops the entire structure.[20]

Akbar's tomb is located at Sikandra, and was not actually completed by him. It is safe, however, to say that the credit for the design and the main execution of it lies with Akbar.[21]

> Akbar and his architect are entitled to the credit for introducing into India that pleasing Persian form which far excels in beauty and effectiveness the low-pitched so-called 'Pathan' dome. . . . The building of Akbar's time . . . obviously combined both Hindu and Muhammedan features and so may be described correctly as being designed in an eclectic or mixed Hindu-Muhammedan style.[22]

In many ways Akbar's successor, Jahanger, like Humayun, was not as good a man as his father. In two aspects however Humayun made a real contribution to art. Under his influence miniature painting was subsidized and grew to considerable proportions. Also, he was the moving force in the creation of the Shalimar gardens in Kashmir, one of the most beautiful spots in the world today. These gardens combined the best in architecture with a most beautiful natural setting, and are still the object of admiration of tourists.[23]

The pearl mosque at Lahore is perhaps the best single building project which has come to us from this Jahanger. It utilizes a beautiful combination of fluted and scolloped

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[20] ibid., pp. 297-300.
[21] Rose, op. cit., p. 637a.
[22] Smith, op. cit., p. 435.
[23] Rose, op. cit., p. 637b.

arches in conjunction with straight lines and Persian domes to produce one of the finest mosques in the world.[24]

One of Jahanger's wives, Nur Mahall, erected a tomb to her father at Agra which marked a new departure in Mughal architecture. It is the nearest approach to a lineal ancestor of the Taj Mahal. The materials used were soft white marble inlaid with precious and semi-precious stones to accent the color of the marble and provide rich, yet unostentatious decoration. This same woman also built the tomb for her husband, Jahanger. She was the political power of the realm, and the only influence for good upon her dissolute husband. The tomb which she built for him is not unusual in architecture, but is of monumental proportions, the base being 256 feet square. The tomb itself, octagonal, twenty-six and a half feet in diameter, is set in a room suitably proportioned for such a magnificent sarcophagus.[25]

The successor to Jahanger produced the finest architecture of the Mughal period, and some of the finest in the world. Behind the person and work of Shah Jehan lies a shadow of mystery unbroken save for some certain evidences. One is that he was a rare exception to his age in his love for only one woman. Another is that he certainly was one of the most unhappy of men even though he lived in an age and situation in which he should have been most happy. His life was largely a series of frustrations, but unlike his Mughal predecessors, he left no records of himself. His best claim to fame is based on the magnificence of the architectural forms which he created and the superlatively lovely buildings in which they are embodied.

"The reign of Shah Jehan was . . . the golden age of Mughal architecture in India, and produced a series of noble buildings."[26] We will reserve consideration of the Taj Mahal for a later page, and now consider his other great works.

The palace at Delhi, built of white marble and recently restored to something like its original beautiful lines and materials, is in itself a worthy life-work for any man. Its outer dimensions are 1,600 by 3,200 feet. It is the creation of a

[24] loc. cit.
[25] Fergusson, op. cit., pp. 304-305.
[26] Briggs, op. cit., p. 251.

single mind, looking forward to an establishment at the same time most beautiful and functional. There are many apartments, rooms and audience chambers throughout the buildings. There are at least seventeen courtyards, ranging in size from those attached to the apartments of the harem women to a large yard, 350 feet square, and an immense court, 550 by 385 feet in size. One room in this palace, a private audience room for the advisors to the king, is so beautiful that it has an inscription on the ceiling, "If there is a heaven on earth, this is it, this is it."[27]

The palace was served with a water system, supplied by tapping the river Jumna, and an elaborate series of canals and pools. Colors were used in beautiful contrast to the white marble of the structure. "Delhi combined the Mughal's love of enclosed gardens, watered by running channels, with their passion for architectural beauty. It preserved Babar's love of nature and perhaps added to it a sense of landscape which also found expression in the Mughal gardens of Kashmir."[28]

At Agra, Shah Jehan built another of the beautiful Pearl Mosques, and this example of his art is considered by some critics to be more lovely than the Taj Mahal. The general character in this structure is Persian, in contrast to the admirable syncretism and originality which mark his other great works.[29]

Though not strictly an architectural work, the "Peacock Throne" of Shah Jehan must not be neglected. This throne is basically a means of using on one object perhaps the richest ornamentation which has ever been seen on earth. The throne, six by four feet, was covered with an incredibly rich cloth canopy which hung down on three sides. Every surface was covered with gold, and in the gold were embedded almost countless riches in precious stones. Without enumerating the gems in the structure, it is sufficient to say that the value of the throne in that day was something over six million pounds sterling.[30]

We have deferred mention of the masterwork of this em-

[27] Fergusson, op. cit., p. 311.
[28] Rose, op. cit., p. 638b.
[29] Fergusson, op. cit., pp. 318-319.
[30] Bisland, op. cit., pp. 41-43.

peror until this point in order that we may force our whole attention upon it. This is, of course, the justly famous Taj Mahal, erected at Agra during the period 1631-1653, at a cost estimated today to be equal to four and a half million pounds sterling.[31] The building is the tomb of his favorite and only beloved queen, Ardjumand Banu Betam, also known as Mumtaz Mahal. Shah Jehan himself is also buried there, for his plan for a like structure of black marble on the other side of the river, connected by a bridge of silver across the river, was disrupted by his sons' rebellion.[32]

The style of the Taj Mahal is basically Persian. There are no colored tiles in it, however; the use of color is obtained through inlays of precious and semi-precious stones in the white marble walls and panels of the building. By these simple but rich materials, there is achieved an effect which is at once one of both grandeur and elegance.[33]

The Taj Mahal is the creation of Shah Jehan in consultation with his favorite architect, Isa Mahoud Effendi. The actual work of construction, lasting twenty-two years, is said to have required the services of twenty thousand skilled workers for the entire period.[34]

The Taj Mahal is situated at one side of a garden court which is square, measuring 880 feet on each side. The platform on which the tomb rests, made of white marble, is 318 feet square, and eighteen feet high. The four minarets which rise from the corners are 133 feet high. The mausoleum proper, centered on this platform, is 186 feet square. The principal dome of this mausoleum is fifty-eight feet in diameter, and its top is seventy-four feet from the roof of the mausoleum. From the ground, the top of the main dome is 191 feet high.

The tomb of Mumtaz Mahal is set within a beautiful white pierced marble screen. Just off to one side is the tomb of her husband. Here again, however, these tombs are only the cenotaph of the lovers: their bodies actually lie in a small plain chamber, located directly underneath the elaborate

[31] Briggs, op. cit., p. 251.
[32] Rose, op. cit., p. 638b.
[33] loc. cit.
[34] Bisland, op. cit., p. 69.

tombs in the mausoleum. This chamber is located under the great platform of the tomb, at ground level.[35]

The total effect of this beautiful building is one of incredible richness. All the walls and angles of the stones which make it up here beautifully carved and ornamented, and there are many and beautiful inlays of precious stones and materials.[36]

One of the loveliest features of this marvel of architecture is the echo which is found in the dome of the mausoleum. This accoustical property of domes is well known, and while there is nothing to indicate that Shah Jehan designed the dome so as to produce this echo, there is no reason why he might not have done so. The necessary materials and knowledge for this procedure were ready to his hands, and there are many who believe that the echo is a deliberate feat of engineering. When one stands near the tombs of the lovers, and calls their names in a clear voice, there comes back from the dome above a clear repetition of this call, not one time, but many times. "Fainter and fainter, higher and higher breathes the lovely syllables in melting antiphons, never blurred or confused, of an undying yearning quest across the worlds, passing away at last by minor murmurs into a fainting silence."[37]

The conclusion of every one who has seen this lovliest of buildings is well put in one sentence: "The Taj Mahal is one of the great buildings of the world and has inspired every serious critic who has who has seen it to express his admiration."[38]

Anything which might be said in description of the work of those who succeeded Shah Jehan as emperors of the Mughal empire would be anti-climatic. Aurangzeb is the only one of the later emperors whose building efforts are necessary to be mentioned. He was of a parsimonious nature and did not do a great deal of building. There is an excellent Friday mosque in Benares which is credited to him, and for

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[35] Fergusson, op. cit., pp. 315-317.
[36] loc. cit.
[37] Bisland, op. cit., p. 76.
[38] Briggs, op. cit., p. 251.

his favorite wife he had built a tomb, a small replica on a less elaborate scale, of the Taj Mahal.[39]

But the golden age of the Mughal emperors and their empire was past. The invasion of foreigners, and the continual tightening of foreign control, plus the renewal of warfare between the sections of the empire and the whole of India, began to weaken the hold of the emperors to such an extent that they could not occupy themselves with the cultivation of the arts, even if they had so wished.

"The architecture of the Mughals was, like all their arts, a resultant of many forces. But its essential distinction over Hindu art lay in its balanced use of purely Indian and imported technique. While it recognized the value of symbolism in its structures, it never made its art merely the vehicle for symbols, as Hindu sculpture tended to do."[40]

Having briefly surveyed the architectural contributions and monuments of the Mughal emperors, it remains to draw from this study the conclusions which follow. It would be useless and beside the point to moralize on the absolute right of a despot to spend untold wealth because of a capricious nature or whim of fancy. The deeds involved are long since history.

The buildings considered in this paper seem to be of two classes: some motivated by religion, and others secular. Few if any of the emperors were outstandingly religious men. Religion required them to construct mosques; but they were not obligated to change the seat of government and construct new palaces with every change of emperor. Yet almost uniformly they did.

We see in these efforts a visible, material expression of the twofold yearning of the soul of man—for security in this world, expressed in the great palaces; and for safeguarding their memory in terms of life yet to be, seen in the marvelous tombs.

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[39] Rose, op. cit., p. 638b.
[40] ibid., pp. 638-639a.

THE HISTORY OF ISLAM IN INDIA II

From the coming of Babar and the First Battle of Panipat, A.D. 1526, to the Mutiny of 1857 and the end of the Mughal Dynasty

A. *The Period of the Great Mughals*

1. Babar. The expedition of Zahīr-ud-dīn Huḥammad Bābar in response to the appeal of Daulat Khān was not his first into India. In the year 1519 he had crossed the Indus and occupied temporarily a part of the Panjab. It was in A.D. 1524 that he returned at the invitation of the disgruntled governor of the Panjab, and occupied Lahore. When it became clear that he had no intention of relinquishing his hold, Daulat Khān turned against him, and he was compelled to return to Kābul, where he organized another expedition. He again entered the Panjab in the autumn of A.D. 1525. The defeat of Daulat Khān was speedily accomplished, and Bābar went on in the direction of Delhi. He met and defeated Sultan Ibrahīm Lodhī and his army at Pānīpat, April 21, 1526. Two more important battles remained to be fought, however, before his Indian empire was secure. Muslim supporters of the Lodhī dynasty joined forces with the Rajput chief Rānā Sāngā to oppose the invader, and together they raised a gigantic army.[38] Bābar defeated this confederation at Kanwāh, not far from Agra, on March 16, 1527, in a battle which was in many respects a more important conflict than that at Pānīpat. Now secure in the west, Bābar had yet to deal with the Afghān nobles of Bihar and Bengal. Two full years passed before he met and defeated their forces near the confluence of the Gogra and Ganges rivers, not far from Patna, on the sixth of May, 1529. A year and a half later (December, 1530), Bābar died at Agra at the age of forty-eight, having established the Mughal empire, but without having had an opportunity to make provision

[38] Majumdar, Raychaudhri, and Datta, *An Advanced History of India*, p. 428. (The numbering of the references is continued from the previous article. See The Muslim World, Vol. XXXIX, pp. 11ff.)

for a stable government. A writer and poet in both Turki and Persian, Bābar liked the society of cultured scholars.[39]

2. Humayun. First reign. Humayūn, the eldest of the four sons of Bābar, succeeded his father. He was not a strong ruler, and in his weakness had to divide his father's empire with his brothers, who were rival claimants to the throne. The Afghān nobles in the east, though defeated by Bābar, were by no means crushed, and under a leader named Sher Khān their power rapidly increased. After defeating Humayūn in June, 1539, Sher Khān took the title of Sher Shāh. He defeated Humayūn again in the following year at the Battle of Kanauj, and Humayūn was forced into exile, where he lived the life of a wanderer for fifteen years.

3. The Afghan Interlude. Sher Shāh seems to have been an excellent ruler. He put down rebellions with a strong hand, and added many areas of northern India to his empire. He laid out roads, put down lawlessness, and set up a system of revenue which was later used as a basis by Rājā Todar Mall, the minister of Akbar, to whom most of the credit has gone. Learned men were welcome at his court, and he himself was well read in Persian literature and Islamic theology.[40] Sher Shāh's brief but beneficient rule ended in 1545, when he was killed while trying to subdue the Rajputs. His son, Islām Shāh, reigned for nine years.

4. Humayun's Return. After Islām Shāh's death, his son, aged twelve, was murdered, and there was chaos in the kingdom. This was the time chosen by Humayūn to regain his throne. After vain attempts to enlist the help of his brothers, he had gone, finally, to Persia, where he had been promised the help of the Persians upon agreeing to conform to the Shi'a creed. With the help of a Persian force of 14,000, Humayūn occupied Qandahār and Kābul in 1545, but it was not until ten years later that he was finally able to regain possession of Delhi.[41]

[39] Amir Ali, "Islamic Culture under the Moguls," *Islamic Culture,* vol. I, p. 502.

[40] Amir Ali, op. cit. p. 503.

[41] Stanley Lane-Poole, *History of India,* edited by A.V.W. Jackson, vol. III, p. 242.

Humayūn brought back with him from Persia a number of men of learning. From that time on, there was a constant influx of Persian scholars, architects etc., into India. Humayūn himself did not live long enough to enjoy the fruits of his victory. He slipped on the steps of his library in the year 1556, and died from injuries sustained in the fall.

5. Akbar. Humayūn was succeeded by his son, Jalāl-uddīn Akbar, who was only thirteen years old when his father died. He was proclaimed ruler at Kalanaur in Gurdaspur district in the Panjab, a king without a kingdom, for Hīmū, a leader under a successor of Sher Shāh, had taken Agra and Delhi. Bairam Khān, a trusted officer of Humayūn, was Akbar's guardian and in charge of his affairs. His forces met those of Hīmū on the field of Pānīpat, and Hīmū was defeated and killed. Even now only the Panjab and Delhi were Akbar's, but his conquests soon got under way, and his empire began to grow. Over the space of forty years his conquests continued, as, after taking over the reins of government at the age of seventeen, he overcame first the opposition of the Rajputs, winning the allegiance of some by methods of diplomacy, and defeating others on the field of battle. The Muslim-ruled provinces of Gujarat and Bengal next came under Akbar's rule. Bengal became a part of his empire in the year 1576, though neighboring Orissa was not annexed until 1592.[42] Turning his attention to the north, Akbar defeated the ruler of Kābul in August, 1581, and formally annexed that city to his empire four years later. Kashmir was annexed in 1586. By A.D. 1595, both Sindh and Baluchistan had been conquered. Having established his empire throughout the northern part of India, Akbar endeavoured by diplomatic methods to secure the allegiance of the independent kingdoms of the Deccan, Aḥmadnagar, Bījāpur, Golconda, and Khāndesh. When these methods failed, he attempted conquest by force, but after Aḥmadnagar and Khāndesh had come under his control, he returned to Agra to deal with his son Salīm, who had raised the standard of rebellion.

[42] Majumdar, etc., op. cit., p. 453.

The Mughal hold over the two Deccan kingdoms was very precarious, and they were soon lost to the empire.

Throughout his reign, Akbar showed a conciliatory attitude toward the Hindus, abolishing in 1565 the requirement that they pay the *jizyah*. He concluded alliances with a number of Rajput nobles by marrying their daughters. In the year 1574, Akbar came into contact with Abu 'l-Fazl, one of the most learned men of his age, who believed that God could be sought by following any religion. Influenced by him, Akbar sought to know more about religions other than Islam, and called to his court representatives of Zoroastrianism, Hinduism, Jainism, and Christianity.[43] So far did he go in his relations with each of these, that all seem to have had reason to believe he was about to declare his allegiance to their creed. In the year 1579, he forced the leading Muslim theologians to sign a statement to the effect that if he issued a decree on any religious matter, it was to be accepted as binding on them and on the whole nation. He endeavoured to establish an eclectic religion known as "Dīn-i-Ilāhī," but except for a few courtiers and personal friends, few joined this new religion.

In governmental affairs, Akbar was wise in his choice of helpers. Rājā Todar Mall, a Hindu from Oudh, was one of these. He organized the revenue system along the lines laid down by Sher Shāh. This put the government on a fairly secure basis from a financial standpoint.

Akbar himself was no scholar, for as a boy he had steadfastly refused to study his lessons. But he patronized literature and art, and collected an enormous library of 24,000 manuscripts.[44] He died at Agra, in 1605, and was succeeded by his son Salīm, who took the title of Jahāngīr.

6. JAHANGIR. Jahāngīr was 37 years old when he became ruler. Five months after his accession, his son, Khusrav, revolted against his father, but was soon crushed, and Akbar's empire was preserved intact. Jahāngīr ruled from 1605 to 1627. He lived a luxurious, spendthrift, wasteful life, and

[43] ibid. pp. 458-459.
[44] V. A. Smith, *Oxford Student's History of India*, p. 188.

for much of his reign his wife, Nur Jahān, was the virtual ruler of the empire. Her name even appeared on the coins along with that of her husband.[45]

In Bengal, Jahāngīr, after defeating the Afghāns, was able to win their friendship to the empire by adopting a conciliatory attitude. In the Deccan, however, a long and costly campaign bore little fruit. A serious loss to the empire was the loss of Qandahār to Shāh'Abbās, ruler of Persia, which was taken in June, 1622. A revolt by Prince Khurram, later to rule as Shāh Jahān, prevented Jahāngīr from turning his full attention to the recapturing of the city. Khurram's rebellion was put down, and he was reconciled to his father in 1625.[46]

Himself a lover of nature and a horticulturist, Jahāngīr was a patron of art and literature. In his time there lived two of the most noted painters that India has produced, Abu'l-Ḥasan and Manṣūr.[47]

7. Shah Jahan. When Jahāngīr died, two of his sons were living. Prince Khurram, the elder, was successful in the struggle for the succession, and ascended the throne as Shāh Jahān in 1628. Shāh Jahān seems to have been richer than any of his predecessors. He had unlimited funds to spend on buildings, which were a hobby of his. The Tāj Maḥal at Agra was built as the mausoleum of his favorite wife, Mumtāz Maḥal, and it and connected buildings cost in the neighborhood of four million pounds. The expenditure at Delhi was equally lavish. Muslim culture was at its zenith under Shāh Jahān.[48]

Desirous of winning back Qandahār and gaining possession of the Central Asian kingdoms of Balkh, Badakhshan and Samarqand, Shāh Jahān spent krores of rupees in the endeavor to accomplish his aim, but initial successes were followed by reverses, and nothing came of the expeditions.

Shāh Jahān was more successful in the south than in the north, and after bringing Aḥmadnagar within the bounds of

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[45] L. Bevan Jones, *People of the Mosque,* 203-204.
[46] Majumdar, etc., op. cit., pp. 466-8.
[47] Amir Ali, op. cit., p. 513.
[48] ibid. p. 515.

his empire, he also forced the sultans of Golconda and Bījāpur to acknowledge his suzerainty.[49] He put his third son, Aurangzeb, in charge in the Deccan, and his efforts were responsible for the still further expansion of the empire, though his policy was interfered with by the struggle with his brothers for the succession, which took place while their father was still alive.

Shāh Jahān's becoming severely ill in A.D. 1657 was the signal for trouble to start. He had hoped to avoid dissension by keeping his eldest son at the palace, and sending the others into distant parts of the empire as rulers of provinces, but this scheme did not accomplish its aim. Each son in his respective province set himself up as ruler. It was Aurangzeb who finally won out, and he was enthroned in 1659. Dārā Shikoh and Murād Bakhsh, the eldest and youngest sons of Shāh Jahān, were both executed, and Shujā', the second son, disappeared after suffering defeat in Bengal.[50] Shāh Jahān was deposed and kept a prisoner in the palace until his death in 1666.

8. Aurangzeb. While the reign of Aurangzeb saw the Mughal empire reach its greatest size, it also saw the beginnings of those movements which were to weaken its influence and finally destroy it. The long reign of fifty years divides easily into two almost equal parts. In the first part, until 1681, Aurangzeb was occupied in the northern part of his kingdom. At great cost in both men and material, areas in Cooch Bihar and Assam were added to the empire. In 1674-5, the emperor himself led an expedition against several rebellious Pathān tribes, and the uprisings were suppressed. But the loss of Pathān support in the coming struggles with the Rajputs and Marāthās was to tell heavily against the empire. Aurangzeb alienated the sympathies of large numbers of his subjects through his religious policies. He was an orthodox Sunnī Muslim, and held it to be his duty to further the interests of Islam by suppressing idolatry and opposing heretics. He himself was a *ḥāfiẓ* and twice

[49] Majumdar, etc., op. cit., pp. 476-7.
[50] V. A. Smith, op. cit., pp. 203-4.

copied out the Qur'ān in full. Though abstemious in personal habits, eating no meat and drinking only water, he had a court of dazzling splendour.[51]

After crushing the growing power of the Rajput nobles in the western part of his empire, Aurangzeb turned his attention to the south. The semi-independent kingdoms of Bījāpur and Golconda were annexed by A.D. 1687. The Marāthās were also defeated, and the Hindu states of Trichinopoly and Tanjore, far to the south, were made to pay tribute. Practically all of the area from Kābul to Assam, and from Kashmir in the north to the extreme south, was by 1690 within the bounds of Aurangzeb's empire.

But having reached its widest extent, the great empire was soon to disintegrate almost completely. Less than 60 years later, by 1748, and only about 40 years after the death of Aurangzeb, little was left to the Mughal rulers except a comparatively small area around Delhi. The Marāthās soon fought back, and in April or May, 1706, were at the very gates of the imperial camp at Ahmadnagar. Aurangzeb died in 1707, a disappointed and disillusioned man. A sense of failure rested heavily upon him during the latter years of his life.

B. *The Mughal Empire in Decline.* The story of the 150 years between the death of Aurangzeb and the deposition of the last of the nominal Mughal rulers following the Mutiny in 1857 cannot be told in detail within the scope of this article, but we can at least sketch the main lines of influence which resulted in the complete disappearance of the empire. Most of the factors were already in existence at the time when the empire reached its point of widest expansion, in the year 1690. Aurangzeb's empire bore within itself the seeds of its own decay.

1. The Marathas. Fighting by methods we would now call guerrilla warfare, and rarely risking a major engagement, especially in the early days, the Marāthās from the Western

[51] L. Bevan Jones, op. cit., p. 208.

Ghats first came to power under Shīvājī, in the reign of Aurangzeb. Shīvājī himself went to Aurangzeb's court in 1666, but was snubbed by the emperor, and later imprisoned. He managed to escape, and from that time on was the emperor's inveterate enemy.[52] In the period following the death of Aurangzeb, the Marāthās were a constant factor to be reckoned with in the struggle for power. By the middle of the century, most of central and western India was under their control. In January 1761, at the Third Battle of Pānīpat, the Marāthās were decisively defeated by Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī. This defeat put an end to the Maratha dream of all-India empire, but Marāthās states continued to be strong in central India for some time.

2. The Independent Muslim States. The empire had always been a very loosely knit organization, held together by the emperor only if he had sufficient strength to hold it. Under Aurangzeb's successors, a number of the provinces became practically independent of Delhi. The Deccan became independent under Chīn Qilīch Khān, better known by his titles of Nizām-ul-Mulk, or Āsaf Jāh. The present Nizām of Hyderabād is one of his descendants.[53] Sa'adat Khān, governor of Oudh, and a little later, Alīwardī Khān of Bengal, also ceased to acknowledge the overlordship of the Delhi emperor. An area north of the Ganges, later called Rohilkhand, came under the control of the Rohillas, a family of Afghān immigrants. Saif-ud-Daulah, governor of the Panjab from 1713 to 1726, and his son, Zakariyā Khān, governor until 1745, were practically independent of Delhi.

3. The Sikhs. The founding of the Sikh religion by Guru Nānak has already been mentioned in the first article of this series. He was the first in a succession of ten Gurus, or religious leaders, who developed their followers, the Sikhs ("disciples" or "learners"), first into a religious community, and then, as they came into conflict with the Mughal rulers, into a nation of warriors. Nānak's three successors lived quiet lives, and kept on good terms with the emperor. The

[52] Majumdar, etc., op. cit., p. 515.
[53] V.A. Smith, op. cit., p. 228.

fifth Guru, Arjan Dev (1581-1606), in the reign of Akbar, compiled the Granth Ṣāḥib, the sacred book of the Sikhs, and made Amritsar, in the Panjab, the permanent center of the faith. The 9th Guru, Teg Bahādur, was put to death by the order of Aurangzeb. The 10th and last of the Gurus, Gobind Singh (1675-1708) had a deep-rooted hatred for the Muslims and formed the Sikhs into a league of fighting men. In the period that followed, the Sikhs were always a factor to be reckoned with, and a century later, having successfully survived the period of foreign invasions which wrought such havoc in the northern part of the empire, they had complete control of the Panjab, which they later lost to the British.

4. The Foreign Invasions. In A.D. 1739, a new invader appeared on the north-western frontier. He was Nādir Shāh, the king of Persia. He entered the Panjab by way of Ghanznī and Kābul, defeated the emperor, Muḥammad Shāh, at Karnāl, sacked the city of Delhi, and on leaving for Persia, carried with him the Peacock Throne and the Koh-i-noor diamond, as well as other untold wealth. Muḥammad Shāh was permitted to remain as ruler in Delhi, but the provinces of the empire west of the Indus were to be ceded to Nādir Shāh.[54]

Aḥmad Shāh Abdālī, known also as Aḥmād Shāh Durrānī, had accompanied Nādir Shāh on his invasion. After the death of Nādir Shāh, Aḥmad Shāh established himself as ruler in Afghanistan, and over a period of almost two decades made some nine invasions into northern India. He suffered a number of defeats, and was by no means universally successful in these expeditions. It is difficult to see just what his purpose was, as he never stayed long enough to consolidate his authority. But his invasions played a big part in the future history of India. The authority of the emperor was still further weakened, and it was Aḥmad Shāh who inflicted a severe defeat on the Marāthās at Pānīpat as already mentioned, thus checking their expansion to the north and leaving the field open to the Sikhs.

[54] V.A. Smith, op. cit., p. 231.

In the last years of the 18th century, Zamān Shāh, grandson of Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī, made several expeditions into the Panjab, and was the last Afghān ruler to claim possession of Lahore.[55] While returning from his last expedition in the year 1799, he appears to have received the assistance of a Sikh chief named Ranjīt Singh, who later came into power in the Panjab, and ruled over a wide area for forty years.

5. The Weakness of the Later Mughal Rulers. One of the most important of the factors which led to the final disappearance of the Mughal Empire was the weakness of the rulers of the dynasty. In an empire which was held together only by the hand of the ruler, that hand must be strong. When it was not, the empire fell apart. Aurangzeb's immediate successors were anything but strong, and for a number of years a group known as "The Sayyids" were the kingmakers, putting their own candidate on the throne and ruling through their puppet emperor. Those members of the family who were able to gain possession of the throne were able for the most part to reign only a short time. Aurangzeb, who was the 6th ruler of the dynasty, had ruled for half a century. Twelve years after his death, Muḥammad Shāh became emperor as the 12th ruler of the dynasty. Although he ruled for almost 30 years, it was during his reign that many of the provinces became independent and the empire suffered great losses. The 15th of the line, Shāh 'Alam II was recalled from exile by the Marāthās and enthroned in Delhi in the year 1772. A Mughal enthroned by Marāthās! He finally had to accept the protection of the British and lived as their pensioner until 1806. His son, Akbar II, lived at Delhi with the title of emperor until 1837, but was emperor in name only. At the time of the Mutiny in 1857, Bahādur Shāh II was deposed by the British and deported to Rangoon. He was suspected of having given assistance to the mutineers. He was the last of the dynasty which had in fact ceased ruling many years earlier.[56]

[55] J. Heras, "Durrani Influence in North India," *Islamic Culture*, vol. XII, pp. 172-3.

[56] Majumdar, etc., op. cit., pp. 529-30.

6. The Coming of the Europeans, and the Rise of British Power. The establishment of British power in the sub-continent had a great effect upon the position of the Muslims in India. The Portuguese, the Dutch, the French, and the British all established trade relations with different parts of India, and all dreamed of territorial expansion. The British, represented at first by the East India Company, were to come off victorious in this struggle for supremacy. As early as the time of Jahāngīr, the British had received the emperor's permission to establish a center of trade at Surat. This was in the year 1613. In A.D. 1639, Madras was leased, and in 1651, a center was established at Hugli. After almost a century of trade, during which time the position of the East India Company was continually gaining strength, both commercially and politically, the British and French came into direct conflict in the south, and in the course of this conflict, Muslim rulers of local states took sides and were supported or suppressed as political expediency demanded. After Ḥaidar 'Alī came to power in Mysore in the year 1761, there was continual conflict between him and the British, and this continued in the reign of his son Tipū Sultan, with whom a treaty was concluded in March, 1792, according to the terms of which Tipū Sultan lost about half of his possessions. Seven years later, in 1799, Mysore was restored to a member of the Hindu family from which Ḥaidar 'Alī had taken it.[57]

In Bengal, too, the British came into conflict with the Muslim rulers. Sirāj-ud-Daulah, the Nawāb, was defeated at Plassey in A.D. 1757, and Mīr Ja'far was made Nawāb as a British puppet ruler. In the year 1765, the nominal Mughal emperor, Shāh 'Alam II, formally handed over to the British the power to collect and administer the revenues of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. In Oudh and Rohilkhand British supremacy was established before the end of the 18th century, though nominally the rulers were Muslim. Oudh was formally annexed in the year 1856.[58]

7. Some General Notes on the Mughal Period. The

[57] V.A. Smith, op. cit., p. 284.
[58] Majumdar, etc., op. cit., p. 770.

great Mughal emperors ruled as dictators. They had ministers, or *wazīrs,* but while they often consulted them, they were not bound to accept their advice. When the period of decline set in, the position of the emperor was nominally what it had been before, but actually he was often forced to act in accordance with the wishes of those who had put him in power. Salaries in government service, especially in the army, were quite high, and many foreigners were attracted to the Mughal court. Titles were not hereditary, and land grants also did not pass from father to son. This encouraged the squandering of resources during the life-time of the recipient.[59]

Jahāngīr promulgated a series of twelve special ordinances, and Aurangzeb had a digest of Muslim law drawn up. Otherwise, there were no written codes of law. Justice was administered in accordance with the *fatwas* of leading jurists, and the ordinances of the emperor. In the time of Akbar, and again in the reign of Jahāngīr, the common people had the right to appeal directly to the emperor in case of injustice.

In the time of Akbar, there were fifteen provinces in the empire, and in the time of Aurangzeb, at the time of greatest expansion, twenty-one.

The social structure was feudal, with clearly marked distinctions of class. Below the emperor were the official nobility, who lived in great luxury. There was a small middle class of merchants and professional people living simple and temperate lives. The masses of the people were forced to live on a bare subsistence level, or less. Famines as a result of the failure of seasonal rains, were all too common, as reserves were soon gone, and the government made no adequate provision for the supply of food in cases of need.

Except for particular periods marked by religious intolerance, notably the reign of Aurangzeb, relations between Hindus and Muslims as such remained cordial, though political necessity often forced a conflict between them.

While the vast majority of the people earned their livelihood by agriculture, there were some industries, the chief

[59] ibid., p. 557.

of which were the manufacture of cotton cloth, carpet weaving and other kindred industries.

H. G. Rawlinson tells us that education was considered to be a religious duty by the Mughals. Whether rich or poor, boys received their education. The rich were taught by tutors, and the poor by the mullah at the mosque. They learned the *Kalima,* verses from the Qur'ān, and Traditions. Women were educated, too, by school-mistresses or governesses in the home. Akbar built a girls' school at Fatehpur Sikrī.[60]

The earliest Indian newspapers are said to date from the time of Aurangzeb. Even the common soldiers of his army were supplied with newspapers, all written by hand. After the decay of the Mughal power, the journalists continued their work.[61]

Literary activity flourished in the days of the great Mughals, and continued on into the period of decline. A notable exception to this general rule was the reign of Aurangzeb, in whose time Hindi literature received a severe set-back, due to the withdrawal of the emperor's patronage. More Urdu literature was produced in the Deccan than in the north during his reign.[62]

8. The Early 19th Century. In the first half of the 19th century, Muslim political fortunes in India were at a low ebb. The emperor was a ruler without an empire, and the Muslim states were either completely under the control of the British, as in Oudh and Bengal, or had surrendered their right to determine their own foreign relations, as in the case of Hyderabad. Following the Afghan Wars, Sindh was formerly annexed. The central part of the country had long since been lost to the Marāthās, and the Sikhs were in control of the Panjab until 1849, when it was annexed by the British.

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[60] H. G. Rawlinson, *India: A Cultural History,* p. 373.

[61] S. C. Sanial, "The Newspapers of the Later Mughal Period," *Islamic Culture,* II: 122-140; 453-463.

[62] Majumdar, etc., op. cit., p. 583.

THE RELIGIOUS AND POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT OF MUḤAMMAD

The object of my paper is not to undertake an evaluation of Muhammadanism in relation to other religions. On the contrary I have made it my task to undertake a religio-psychological examination of Muḥammad based on general religio-historical assumptions, in other words, a method which is not essentially different from that employed by the historian when he does not confine himself to purely materialistic views in expositions of mankind, but attempts to give a deeper psychological understanding. When it is a question of understanding the origin of Islam, it will appear insufficient to seek its appearance merely in the bad social conditions or in the over-crowding in Arabia at the time of Muḥammad, thus making him to appear as a kind of social reformer or national hero, who had thought out plans for the conquest of the world by the Arabs. These are all factors and motives which cannot be disregarded, but it is wrong to be content with explanations of this kind. We must try to understand his religious life if we wish to find the key to the understanding of the world-political events which he set in motion, and which to this very day are factors of the greatest importance in the drama of world politics.

When judging Muḥammad from a Christian stand-point, it is often very difficult to forget that he has done harm to Christianity by supplanting it in large districts where it was formerly the dominating faith. In the Middle Ages it was difficult to regard such a person as other than a heretic or deceiver of the worst kind, so the punishment which Dante allotted him in the 28th song of "The Divine Comedy" was readily approved. Dante sees him in Hell among the leading dissenters, with head and body cleft, tearing his breast with his fingers. This was his punishment because he had sown dissension in religion and done harm to Christianity. He was thought to be a false prophet because his teaching was antagonistic to that of the Church.

Nobody was interested in whether there was any truth in what he preached or if he was fully convinced of his vocation.

In our time very few would condemn Muḥammad to the punishment assigned him by Dante. But in principle the view of Muḥammad in many circles is not as different from that of the Middle Ages as one would expect. The most critically-minded investigators maintain that Muḥammad never had any religious experience and did not believe in what he said, but that he was only an impostor in the grand style who had worldly aims. If we turn to the severest Christian teachers of theology, we get from the Barthian theologians, for instance, a categorical "no" in answer to the question as to whether there was any revelation in Muḥammad's preaching. This question I shall not attempt to answer here, but I will try to examine literary and historical sources on Muḥammad's life and teachings, so that we can form an opinion regarding his honesty as a person who had the spiritual experiences to which he lays claim. If he had these experiences, I think that one can speak of religious experiences and religious development in reference to him, using the word "religious" in the same sense as it is used in the history of religion and without confining it to its Christian use.

To begin with I will make a few remarks on the sources of Muḥammad's history which are available to us. It is well-known that our chief source is the Qur'ān, but that does not mean that it is a good source. It is a first-class source in so far as it has resisted the most acute attempts to prove that it does not come from Muḥammad himself. It can be considered as certain that a part of it already existed in writing in Muḥammad's time (executed according to his orders and dictation), and that it was collected in its present form under Caliph 'Uthmān about 650 A.D., that is to say, about twenty years after the death of the prophet. In this respect the Qur'ān is unique in the history of religion; neither Christianity nor Buddhism can show anything similar in connection with their founders' revelations.

In spite of this great advantage, one does not need to

read many pages of the Qur'ān to discover that it is very difficult to use it as an authority. It has, according to our ideas, a curious style, so that it is often impossible to grasp the meaning. In most cases the names of the people or events which seem to be referred to, are missing. Moreover the chapters, or Suras, are not in chronological order, but placed according to their length, so that the longest are placed first and the shortest last, except the first Sura which is a kind of introduction. We can confidently assert that if we had nothing but the Qur'ān to build on, to write Muḥammad's biography would be an impossible task. Of course it is possible to describe his religious teaching as it appears in the Qur'ān (which among others the late Danish scholar Professor Buhl has done in an excellent book), but it is not possible to see from the Qur'ān alone in what order he gave his teaching on different questions (and by the way very inconsequently), just as it is impossible to judge from the Qur'ān alone the source of the ideas. However we get considerable help in the understanding of the Qur'ān from the Quranic commentaries in Arabic. The oldest go back to the first centuries after the death of the prophet. One of the largest is Ṭabari's, which consists of thirty thick volumes. The commentaries interpret the Qur'ān both grammatically and historically, often also allegorically. They are just as good or just as bad as the commentaries on the Bible; they are influenced by the tendencies of their times. But the oldest of these commentaries contain important and valuable information about persons and events which are alluded to in the Qur'ān. Their authenticity is often confirmed by the clear understanding of the Qur'ān which one gets from them.

We have also considerable help for our knowledge of the prophet's personality in the extensive branch of literature which deals with his life. After his death great interest was shown in everything connected with him from birth to death. The method of this writing is historical-biographical, but very deficient according to our ideas, as it is written entirely in order to glorify him and therefore is filled with a mass of legendary material which must be thoroughly sifted.

Besides the commentaries and the biographies, the Tradition-collections yield important contributions to our knowledge of Muḥammad's personality. Since the Qur'ān did by no means solve all the problems which confronted the newly-founded religious society after the death of the prophet, it was quite natural that its followers, when placed in difficult situations, should try to find out what the prophet would have done in like cases. The men who had known the prophet personally were asked if they could remember what the prophet had done. Therefore it led to the practice of regarding a report almost as binding as the Qur'ān itself, if one could trace the tradition back to the prophet or one of his followers, naming his name and providing all links in the chain. It goes without saying that a number of such traditions quickly began to circulate, often conflicting with each other. It is clear that the value of these traditions is highly questionable; indeed one may say that not many branches of world literature contain as much falsehood. The Muslims themselves have criticized these traditions and classified them as "sound," "weak" and "false."

From the circumstances which I have sketched it will appear how difficult it is to give a historical description of the life and development of the prophet. The most critical scholars will acknowledge only very little as certain fact. If one should follow the well-known principle of rejecting every tradition in which a glorifying tendency can be traced, there remains, on the whole, nothing advantageous to say about the prophet, for one can maintain that all the good which is told of him is trumped up to glorify him. Some scholars have set to work in this radical manner. On the other hand one naturally gets an extremely unattractive picture of him; he becomes a swindler and deceiver, too fond of women, domineering, unreliable and possessing other unattractive qualities. Such a method of procedure is decidedly objectionable. The task indisputably makes great demands on one who wishes to describe the real Muḥammad, if the picture is not to be distorted. It is necessary to understand people with complicated characters; furthermore, one

should not confine oneself to economic and social factors as being decisive in Muḥammad's development, and should make oneself quite familiar with the spiritual milieu in which he grew up, as far as this is possible.

On the religious conditions in Arabia in Muḥammad's life-time we are unfortunately not very well informed. We know the ancient Arabian religion from the oldest Arabian poems, which go back to the time before Muḥammad. It was a polytheistic religion, as so many primitive religions were, but, under the influence of the Jews and the Christians, there were traces of the acknowledgment of one God, Allah. The Jews lived mostly in colonies; they were found, for instance, in great numbers in al-Madīnah and the oasis of this region, as well as in South Arabia, but were not numerous in Mecca. Here, on the other hand, there were a number of Christians: black slaves, soldiers from Abyssinia and merchants from Syria; even a cousin of Muḥammad's wife Khadījah (Waraqa ibn Nawfal) is said to have been a Christian. However one cannot speak of a real church community in Mecca. But there was one in South Arabia where the Christians had several churches. Here Christianity was strongly influenced by and probably introduced from Abyssinia which in the year 525 conquered Yemen, because a Jewish king persecuted the Christians there. In the year of Muḥammad's birth, about 570, an Ethiopic king (Abraha) is said to have made an unsuccessful attempt to extend his conquests as far as Mecca. About 597 Yemen, supported by Persia, rebelled against Abyssinia. Also the North Arabian tribes around Damascus seemed to have accepted Christianity at an early date; moreover several of the tribes of Central Arabia were partly Christian. We can reckon that many of the Christians who lived in Arabia belonged more or less to obscure sects who had taken refuge there from persecution as heretics.

As Mecca was a commercial town of some importance, which traded with South Arabia, Iraq and Syria, we can take it for granted that in Mecca there had also been opportunities of acquiring knowledge of the religious ideas of the people with whom trade was carried on, either when the for-

eign merchants came to Mecca or when the Meccans went to foreign lands with their caravans. Thus there is evidence enough that Muḥammad even as a child was acquainted with Jewry and Christendom. One tradition relates that he was taken by his uncle, Abū Ṭālib, on a business trip to Syria. When they came to Bosra, a Christian monk, who lived there as a hermit, invited the whole caravan to a meal although the Quraishite caravans had often passed by without his taking any notice of them. They did not take Muḥammad in to the meal as they thought he was too young, but the monk asked for him. He conversed with the boy and found the sign of the prophet between his shoulders and said to Abū Ṭālib: "Return to your country with your brother's son and protect him from the Jews, for if they see him and know what I know about him they will try to kill him." A similar story is told about him when he came to Syria later with Khadījah's caravans. It is easily seen that these traditions are somewhat legendary, and that they are calculated to show that Muḥammad, when still a child, was already chosen to be a prophet. Therefore we cannot build on them.

Of the traditions that hint at Muḥammad's contact with Christendom before his call as prophet I will mention another to which I attach more weight. A tradition says that Muḥammad once heard a man named Quss ibn Sā'ida of the tribe of Yād from the region of Hira preaching in the market at 'Ukāẓ near Mecca. His sermon was about the vanity of all things and the judgment shortly to come. This tradition is probably in the main correct, for it can even bear the test of the fore-mentioned strict principle that every tradition which tells something disadvantageous of Muḥammad must be true. In the present case we can take it for granted that there would have been some hesitation in picturing him listening to a Christian preacher. It seems also very probable that a man used the market place of 'Ukāẓ to speak to the crowd. One could imagine that this sermon took root in the mind of the prophet and later forced its way to the surface and stood for him as the chief point of Allah's message to him, when he received his call as prophet.

If this Christian monk came from Hira in Iraq, he was probably a Nestorian and one of the keen missionary monks who were working for the expansion of Christianity in many parts of Asia. This conception would gain further probability if we could show more points of similarity between early Muhammadanism and Syrian Christianity. On some points it is quite clear that such an agreement exists. I will return to this later. We must first see how Muḥammad's awakening took place according to the sources at our disposal. According to a tradition traced back to a man who died about eighty years after Muḥammad, Muḥammad's call as prophet took place in the following manner. Muḥammad had gone up a mountain near Mecca to devote himself to his spiritual exercises as he so often did. While he was sitting there one night the angel Gabriel came with a silken cloth on which something was written and said: "Read!" And when Muḥammad could not do this, Gabriel seized him so violently that Muḥammad believed that his end had come. This was repeated three times. When Muḥammad the third time said: "What shall I recite?" Gabriel's reply was: "Recite in the name of thy Lord who created, created man of clots of blood. Recite, thy Lord is the great-minded, who taught by help of the pen, taught mankind what they did not know" (Sura 96:1ff).

There can be doubt about some details in this account. Among other things it is confusing to have to translate the same Arabic verb both by "read" and by "recite." This difficulty would quite disappear if there had been no mention of a silken cloth. In fact the story also appears in this form. The angel used only the word "recite," to which Muḥammad answered, "What shall I recite?" and in conclusion the angel recited sura 96:1ff. Thus the point is that Sura 96 is the oldest of all in the Qur'ān. Therefore it is a widespread idea that this story corresponds with those of the revelation by which the prophets of the Old Testament received their call. It is also possible to understand it in this way. The last verse speaks of God teaching mankind by the pen what they did not know. This can be connected with a dominant idea of Muḥammad's that just as

God had formerly given revelations through his prophets to the Jews and Christians, two of the peoples he calls "the people of the Book," referring to the Book in the heaven, in the same way He called Muḥammad to bring the Arabs the revelation in Arabic. It may be this thought that forces its way to the surface at his call. Undoubtedly there is much that corroborates this connection between Sura 96 and Muḥammad's call as a prophet.

However, the late Swedish scholar Tor Andræ, who dealt with these questions, raises a serious objection to this conception. He maintains that if the call took place in the manner described, it would be a unique phenomenon that one who has produced a whole book of revelations not once cites or even hints at the experience which made him sure of his call.

In the Qur'ān no mention is made of a vision of the kind described. Sura 96 is not a vision, but an audition. The Qur'ān twice calls attention to Gabriel having revealed himself to Muḥammad, intending in this way to confute his opponents' accusation that he was possessed by a demon, as was the customary verdict in the case of inspired persons in ancient Arabia; instead there is a reference to his having his message from the angel Gabriel, God's own messenger. In Sura 53:1-10 we read: "By the star when it setteth, your compatriot is not confused or straying, neither speaketh he of his own desire, no, it is only a given revelation; the mighty taught him, the strong, who stood plainly there in the highest horizon; thereupon he approached floating, at the distance of two bows' length or nearer, and he revealed to his servant what he revealed; and the heart hath not fabricated what he saw." A rather shorter reference is given 81:22: "Your compatriot is not possessed, for he saw him in the clear horizon." When the Qur'ān refers to this revelation, Tor Andræ thinks that this must be the first revelation, and that for Muḥammad the decisive call was a vision. The heavenly being who revealed himself to him floated down and came close to him, giving him a revelation about which we certainly hear nothing more, but the contents of which were probably that he was to be Allah's prophet and mes-

senger. However, Tor Andræ has also called attention to another thing which is worth noticing. In his book on The Psychology of Mysticism he points out that among inspired persons we meet two clearly defined types: the auditory and the visual. The auditory hears the revelation as a voice which addresses itself to the prophet's ear or heart. The inner word which he repeats, has a brief, clear, often rhythmic, form. With the visual type, that which inspires him takes the form of visions and pictures, sometimes plastically clear but most often diffuse and indistinct dream-visions. The accounts of these are, as a rule, broad and circumstantial and in prose. But, if on this basis, we ask to which type Muḥammad belongs, in Tor Andræ's opinion, he has no doubt that Muḥammad definitely belongs to the auditory. This is certainly right. However, one must presume that the vision of Gabriel, which Sura 53 and 81 refer to, and to which Andræ justly attaches so much importance, are clear exceptions, since it is generally the case with inspired people of the auditory type, that they have visions only at the beginning of their activity. It is therefore possible that Sura 53 and 81 refer to Muḥammad's call, while Sura 96, which usually is regarded as the oldest and identical with his call, originates from the period directly following, when the revelations to Muḥammad took the form of auditions. So much is certain, that Muḥammad only rarely had visions, and that the Qur'ān on the whole is the fruit of revelations in the form of auditions.

The idea of the special task which was confided to Muḥammad is clearly expressed in Sura 74, which is also one of the very oldest. It begins by addressing Muḥammad as "the enwrapped one," that is to say, he wrapped himself in his mantel, like the soothsayers of old, in expectation of a revelation. Then it continues: "Arise and give warning: thy Lord shalt thou honor, thy dress shalt thou wash, keep free of dirt, do not do good for the sake of gain, and patiently wait for thy Lord! When the trumpet sounds, it will be an unhappy day for the unbelievers and not a favorable" (74:2-10). Here we have clearly expressed the central idea in Mu-

ḥammad's preaching, that he should bring a warning of the coming judgment. Outwardly he does not at this time differ sharply from the Arabian soothsayers. This is shown by the designation, "Thou enwrapped one," and moreover by the form his words take. They are recited in a kind of rhymed prose, which was also used by soothsayers.

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(to be concluded in our next issue)

THE QUR'ĀN AND ISLAM

"All this," wrote an English novelist recently, summing up what one of his characters, a fanatical Plymouth Brother, believed the many, variegated books of the Bible to be, "all this was not a majestic compound of separate parts; it was one thing: God's word, simply and absolutely." Islam's Qur'ān is also one thing: God's word, simply and absolutely, or, in the words of Ibn Ḥazm, "the eternal, inseparable knowledge of God which we call Qur'ān and Word of God."[1] God sent it down, indeed, not as a whole, but in installments. But He did so in order to strengthen and confirm the Prophet's heart, or so that it should be recited and published to men by degrees, or lest believers should be grieved by a premature revelation;[2] and it is in truth a whole, coherent and consistent, perfect in truth and justice,[3] "written on a preserved tablet," or "in a secret book."[4] And as such the orthodox scholars of Islam have accepted and treated it.

Islamic doctrine, like Jewish doctrine and Christian doctrine also until of late, rests largely upon the presupposition of the oneness and identity of revelation. But for Islam the Qur'ān is ultimately the only true and perfect source of knowledge as of salvation with the Traditions and the Consensus to interpret, supplement, adapt and apply the Written Word. For it alone contains the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth, with no esoteric doctrines beyond or within it. "O Apostle!," says Sūrah V:7, "proclaim all that hath been sent down to thee from thy Lord; for if thou do it not, thou hast not proclaimed His message at all."[5]

The Qur'ān itself speaks of its own style and content and declares its source, and character and the purpose which it would serve. It also records what Muhammad's opponents thought of it. And a study of these declarations and indications discloses one side, at least, of the Prophet's mind, but a very important side. For Muhammad's convictions regarding the source, character and purpose of the "Book" influenced greatly, and even eventually determined, Muslim thought, not only on these questions, but on other questions also, which were studied and answered in the light of these convictions, such as the question of the nature of religion, for example, and of knowledge and truth, or of the principle of order and harmony in society, or of the place of reason in that order, or of man's relation to

[1] cf. Ignaz Goldziher, *Die Zahiriten* (Leipzig, 1884), p. 141. cf. opinion of the Sālimiyya that God Himself speaks the Holy words through the tongue of each one who recites the Qur'ān (ZDMG. LXI, p. 73ff).

[2] cf. Sūrah XXV:34; XVII:109; V:101.

[3] XXXIX:24 and IV:84; XLIII:2 and VI:15.

[4] LXXXV:22; LVI:77.

[5] II:154, 169; VI:91.

God, or even of God's nature, which according to VI:91, is such that He reveals to men His will in regard to their destiny.

The Prophet's fellow-citizens were sceptical of both the quality and source of the "lessons," which he recited to them, and incredulous respecting his title to the office which he had assumed. He was a familiar, but not a prominent figure among them; and they expressed their astonishment that such an ordinary, undistinguished member of the community should believe that he alone of them all had been singled out for such a high vocation.[6] If only he had not been one of themselves, or if he had been perchance one of their pre-eminent leaders, or if, again, an angel had been sent down to him, they might not have been so critical and scornful.[7] They might, indeed, have been among the first to believe in his Book, if only it had been a good book, or a different book, or had been sent down to him all at once.[8] As it was, they felt, or some of them did, that they could match the "lessons" of the Prophet's God in matter as well as in style.[9]

The men of the Prophet's home-land found his "lessons" incredible, but not inexplicable; for they were, after all, the words of a mortal, of a poet perhaps, or of a soothsayer. But palpably they were ancient tales, fabulous legends, which had been dictated to him, or which a certain person had taught him, or which he had himself invented with some help, a medley of dreams, lies and nonsense, or more misleading still, the illusions of magic, of sorcery or of possession.[10]

But the Prophet had also asked himself the question of whence?, and had been given moreover an answer. He had heard the voice say, "Recite," and had seen the vision of "One terrible in power, in the highest part of the horizon" and again "near the Sidrah tree which marks the boundary": and he had experienced prevenient grace.[11] He knew what his fellow-citizens thought of him and his "lessons": and he had never expected to be so favored, keen and profound as was his sense of his countrymen's need of the "Book."[12] But the vehemence and nature of his inner experiences and the quality and power of the words, which he heard within,[13] persuaded

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[6] XXXVIII:17.

[7] X:2 and L:2; XLIII:30; VI:8; XI:112; XXXIV:30, 42.

[8] XLVI:10; X:16; XXV:34.

[9] VI:93, 158; VIII:31, 32; also II:21; X:39; XI:16; XXVIII:49; LII:33, 34.

[10] XVI: 105; XXV:5, 6 and XXI:5; XXVIII:47; XXXIV:7; LXIX:41–42; LXXIV:24, 25; cf. also VI:7, 65, 92, 175; VIII:31–32; X:39; XI:16, 37; XVI:26, 103; XXV:32; XXVI:225; XXX:58; XXXII:2; XXXIV:7, 42; XXXV:23; XXXVI:69; XXXVII:150–157; XL:72; XLVI:5, 8, 10; LII:33–34; LXIX:44, 49.

[11] XCVI:1 (cf. LXXIV:1–2); LIII:5–7, 14; XCIV:1–3 (cf. XCIII:7).

[12] XXVIII:86 (cf. X:17).

[13] XX:113; LXXV: 16–19.

him finally that these "lessons" came from no mortal or satanic source.[14] "The Satans were not sent down with this Qur'ān. It became them not. They had not the power and were far removed from hearing it."[15] Nor was the Qur'ān cribbed from any previous "Book"; of that the Prophet had no doubt. For he had never read such a "Book" and had not even known "what the 'Book' was, or what the faith," until it had been revealed to him by the Spirit.[16]

Given the Prophet's character, environment and experience the words which welled up in his consciousness, as he questioned the meaning of life and sought the peace and salvation of his soul, could have for him only one explanation and source. His "lessons" could be none other than "missives from on high," "from the Lord of the Worlds," "from Him who hath made the earth and the lofty heavens."[17] "From the Lord of the Worlds hath this Book come down,"[18] "a revelation from the Compassionate, the Merciful," "the truth . . . from Our very presence."[19] "This Qur'ān could not have been devised by any but God": "were it from any other than God, they would surely have found in it many contradictions."[20] "It is in the Mother of the Book kept by Us," "a glorious Qur'ān, written on the preserved tablet";[21] and "the faithful Spirit hath come down with it upon thy heart."[22]

Muhammad does not declare with the Hebrew prophets, "Thus saith the Lord," and speak in His name. His "lessons" are sent down to him from the "Mother of the Book" to be read, repeated and recited.[23] And his sign is not the initiating vision of the Old Testament prophet, although that also had been granted him; it is the Book, which is "a clear sign *(ayatun bayyinatun)* in the hearts of those who have been given the knowledge."[24] "Produce your Book, if you speak the truth,"[25] he demands of the Meccans, who held that God hath begotten daughters.

The conception of revelation has changed, if not perhaps the vehicle. But God is still its warrant;[26] and the Book is the indubita-

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[14] VII:203; XVII:108; XXXIX:24; LXXXIV:20–22.
[15] XXVI: 10–12.
[16] XXIX:47; XLII:52 (cf. XXVI: 192–195).
[17] LXXVI:23; LXIX:43; XX:3; XLI:42.
[18] XXVI:192; cf. also IV:106, 113, 135; VI:91, 104, 156; VII:195; XI:1; XXIV:1; XXVII:5; XXXIX:1; XL:1; XLII:16; XLV:1; XLVI:1.
[19] XLI:1; XXVIII:48; cf. also XI:20; XXII:53; XXVIII:52; XXXII:1.
[20] X:38; IV:84.
[21] XLIII:2 (cf. XIII:38); LXXXV:22 (cf. LVI:76–77; LXXX:13–15; XCVIII: 1).
[22] XXVI:193–194; cf. XVI:104; XLII:52.
[23] XCVI:1ff. and LXXIV:1–2; LXXV:16–19 and XX:113.
[24] XXIX:48 (cf. VII:202).
[25] XXXVII:157.
[26] IV:164; cf. XV:9.

ble truth,[27] into which "Falsehood shall not come from any side," but which makes known true scriptures, that confirm previous scriptures, guaranteeing, elucidating and even adding to them.[28]

God wrote for Moses upon the Tables a monition concerning everything which his people were to observe, or He sent him a Book complete as to that which is good and with everything in detail.[29] To Muḥammad God has sent down "an Arabic code" *(ḥukman 'arabiyyan),* in which "He has set forth menaces diversely."[30] "To everyone of you have We given a law *(shir'atan)* and a highway *(minhājan)."*[31] "Of old We gave unto Abraham his guidance *(rushd)";* and "before the Qur'ān was the Book of Moses, a rule (or "highway," *imām)* and a mercy; and this is a Book confirming it in the Arabic tongue."[32] Book, or Code, or Highway, it is knowledge from God; and it is the cord of God, by which men should hold fast, and from which they should not break loose, by which God has united their hearts so that they are brethren.[33]

The Book is God's Book and bears His sign. It is the truth and the touchstone of truth. It is knowledge from God and the law of God for man, which is the bond of society and the principle of its order and harmony. But it is also a Manifesto to mankind, which separates the sheep from the goats, which has been accepted by those who have been given the knowledge, but is the despair of infidels and will assuredly increase rebellion and unbelief in many of them (i.e., of the Jews and Christians).[34] For "it is a healing and a mercy to the faithful, but will only add to the ruin of the wicked"; it "will advance the faith of those who believe, but strengthen the doubt of those in whose hearts is a disease"; it "is a guide and a medicine to those who believe, but a blindness to those who believe not, in whose ears is a thickness." As in iron, "dire evil resideth in it as well as advantage to mankind."[35]

The Qur'ān is "none other than an intimation *(dhikr)* . . . to warn whoever liveth, and that sentence may be delivered justly against the infidels."[36] It is the latest of the Books of Monition sent

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[27] LXIX:51; cf. II:139, 169; IV:106; VI:114; VII:51; XI:20; XIII:1; XXII:53; XXVIII:48; XXXII:3; XXXIV:6; XXXV:28; XXXIX:2.

[28] XLI:42 (cf. VII:34–35; LXIX:40); XCVIII:2; XXXV:28 (cf. II:39, 83, 91; III:65; V:17, 50; XIII:36; XXVI:196; XLVI:8–9, 29; LXXXVII:18–19); V:52 and X:38 (cf. VI:91; XVI:46, 66, 91).

[29] VI:155 and VII:142.

[30] XX:112.

[31] V:52.

[32] XXI:52; XLVI:11.

[33] XIII:37 (cf. XXIX:46; XXXIV:6) and III:98.

[34] III:132; XXIX:48 (cf. also II:139; VI:20; XIII:36; XXII:53; XXIV:6; XXIV: 197; XXVIII:52; XXIX:49; XLVI:9); XXVI:210; V:72.

[35] XVII:84; IX:125; XLI:44; LVII:25.

[36] XXXVI:69–70; cf. VI:19; X:58; XV:9; XXVI:10; XXV:1; XXVIII:51; XXXVIII:1, 84; XLI:41; XLIII:2; XLIV:1; LXVIII:51–52; LXXIV:54; LXXX:11.

down by God, that clarifies what already has been revealed.[37] But it is in particular "an Arabic code," "an Arabic Qur'ān," "in the Arabic tongue," "easy," "plain for men of knowledge," and "free from devious language,"[38] to the end that the Arabs, to whom no warner has yet come, and in especial those of the mother-city and its environs, may take heed of the Day of Gathering, may reflect, and understand and fear God.[39]

But it is "a blessed warning," "a warning for the God-fearing," and "the faithful," and "for men of understanding," advising of "a grievous woe from God," but announcing also "to those who believe that a goodly reward awaiteth them."[40] God "gave Moses the Book for Israel's guidance," and "verily, this Qur'ān guideth to what is most upright."[41] It "is God's guidance: by it will He guide whom He pleaseth," and "whoso shall be guided by it, it will be for his own advantage."[42] It was "sent down for the ends of truth"; and "it guideth to the truth and the straight road."[43]

God also "gave Moses the Book for man's enlightenment, that haply they might reflect" and "believe in the meeting with their Lord";[44] and to the Prophet He has sent down "a blessed Book," "that men might meditate its verses, and the understanding bear it in mind," that they might be enlightened and become wise, be established and obtain mercy.[45] For it is "filled with wisdom"; and God "has ordained it for a light," to "guide those, who shall follow after His good-pleasure, to paths of peace and bring them out of darkness into the light," and also "as a medicine for what is in their hearts" and as "glad-tidings to the faithful."[46] "Verily those who recite the Book of God, and observe prayer and give alms . . . may hope for a merchandise that shall not perish" (XXXV:26).

The Qur'ān warns, guides, enlightens and leads men "into the ways of the Glorious One, the Praiseworthy One."[47] It also rounds out and clarifies law and knowledge. "To thee have We sent down

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[37] XVI:45–46.

[38] XIII:37; XII:1 (cf. XX:112; XXXVI:195; XLIII:1); XLVI:2 (cf. XIX:97); XIX:37; XLI:2 (cf. XVI:105; XL:56); XXXIX:39.

[39] XXXII:2; VI:90 (cf. XLII:5); XII:2; XVI:46; XX:112; XXVIII: 43; XLIII:1.

[40] XXI:51 (cf. VI:92); XXI:49 (cf. XX:2); VII:1 (cf. XXIX:50); XL:56 and XVIII:2.

[41] XXIII:51 (cf. XVII:2; XXVIII:43, 49; XL:56); XVII:9.

[42] XXXIX:24 (cf. VI:88); XXXIX:42.

[43] XXXIX:42 (cf. V:17; VI:91; VII:50; XI:20; XVII:84–85; XVIII:53; XXVII: 2; XXXI:2; XXXIV:31; XLI:44; XLV:10); XLVI:29 (cf. LXII:2).

[44] XXVII:43; VI:155.

[45] XXXVIII:28 (cf. VI:156; XVI:46; XX:112); XIV:1 (cf. V:17); VI:64; XVI: 104 (cf. XXV:34); VII:203 (cf. VI:156).

[46] XLIII:2 (cf. XXXVI:1); XLII:52 (cf. VI:91); V:18 (cf. XIV:1; XXXV:23; XLVI:29); X:58 (cf. XVII:84; XLI:44); XVI:104 (cf. XIX:97).

[47] XXXIV:6.

the Book which cleareth up everything."[48] "None have We sent before thee but men inspired . . . with proofs and scriptures; and to thee have We sent down this Book of Monition to make clear to men what hath been sent down to them," to "expound the 'Book,' and to explain to them the subject of their wranglings."[49] "And, verily, they who dispute about the Book are in a far-gone severance from it."[50]

The "Book" is clear and lucid in style and straightforward in exposition.[51] It makes use of every kind of parable and similitude, and employs a variety of composition and Carlyle's one figure of speech also, repetition, to approach and convince men.[52] Its language is not frivolous, but grave and conclusive, coherent and consistent, sublime, immutable and inimitable.[53] For "Were men and jinn assembled to produce the like of this Qur'ān, they could not produce its like."

When the Qur'ān is recited, men should listen and keep silence: they should adore.[54] "They to whom knowledge had been given previously fall on their faces worshipping, when it is recited to them. . . . They fall down on their faces weeping, and it increaseth their humility." "The very skins of those, who fear their Lord, do creep at it." "Had We sent down this Qur'ān on some mountain, thou wouldst certainly have seen it humbling itself and cleaving asunder for fear of God."[55] None should touch it but the purified.[56]

This Quranic characterization of Quranic style and content with its clear and specific pronouncements on the source, nature and purpose of the "Book" and on its inviolability and power sets the stage for much of the future development of religious thought in Islam. It determined, in the first place, the conception of religion, that finally prevailed in the form of the so-called schools of law, but which was championed earlier by the heretical Kharijite sect, who looked upon religion as the conduct of life according to a divinely-given law, that constituted man's chief end here below and his only hope of salvation hereafter.

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[48] XVI:91. And is therefore universal, as may be concluded from Surahs VI:19, 91; X:38–39; XXV:1; XXXVI:69 and XXXVIII:87; cf. also the implications of XVIII:3.

[49] XVI:45–6 (cf. V:16); X:38; XVI:66 (cf. V:52).

[50] II:171 (cf. XI:112; XLI:45; XLII:13; XCVIII:7).

[51] XI:1 (cf. V:17; VI:158; XV:1; XXVI:1; XXVIII:1; XXXVI:69; XXXVII:117; XLI:2; XLIII:1); XVIII:1–2 (cf. XXXIX:29).

[52] XVII:91 (cf. XVIII:52; XXV:41; XXX:58); VI:65 (cf. XVII:43; XX:112); XXXIX:24.

[53] LXXIII:4–5 (cf. LXXXVI:13–14); XXXIX:24 (cf. IV:84); XLIII:3; XVIII:26 (cf. VI:115; X:65); XVII:90 (cf. II:21; VI:92; VIII:31–32; X:39; XI:16; LII:34).

[54] VII:203 and LXXXIV:21.

[55] XVII:108–109 (cf. LVII:15); XXXIX:24; LIX:21.

[56] LVI:78; cf. LXXX:11–15; XCVIII:2.

The Ibadites defined faith *(Imān),* or religion *(dīn),* as "every [revealed] duty *(ṭā'ah),*" or as "everything imposed by God upon His creatures." Abū Baihas maintained that "no one is a Muslim until he confesses his knowledge of God and of God's Apostle, and of all that Muḥammad has made known . . . and [acknowledges] what God has declared unlawful by virtue of a threat, which He has revealed concerning it, so that a man should know it by name and be acquainted with it actually and describe it." Some of the Baihasites held that only that which is in the words of the Most High is forbidden, and they cite as proof-text VI:146.[57]

Some of the Murji'ites shared this conception of religion, even if they did not, like their Kharijite brethren, judge great sinners, the committers of mortal sins, to be unbelievers, except when they denied the divine ordinances. One party of them declared that "faith comprehends knowledge of God, and of His Apostles, and of His divine precepts, upon which there is unanimity, and obedience to Him in all of these and confession with the tongue." The Shabibites said that "faith comprehends confession of God, the knowledge that He is one, unique, and confession and knowledge of the prophets of God, and of His Apostle and of all that they have received from God, such as Prayers, Fasting and the like, which have been accepted by the Muslims and handed down from the Prophet of God, and about which there is no disagreement, nor dissension, among them." Other Murji'ites included in their confession of faith the love of God and abandonment of pride, or self-conceit, and of disregard for the truth. But Faith in the sense of a personal relationship of men to God, towards which Murji'ite thought was reaching, did not find a place in the first synthesis of orthodox thought.[58]

For al-Shahrastānī religion is also obedience *(ṭā'ah)* and submission *(taslīm):* the obedient is the religious; and heresies are attributed by him to the denial of God's command, after its validity has been recognized, and to the propensity toward self-willed opinion in opposition to what has been revealed.[59] And al-Ghazzālī confesses that so far as reason goes, obedience and disobedience are one, that the creature cannot tell what Allah requires of him, and that only the divine laws can instruct him there.[60]

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[57] cf. *Die Dogmatischen Lehren der Anhänger des Islam of Abu'l-Ḥasan . . . al-Ash'ari,* ed., H. Ritter (Bibliotheca Islamica) Bd., Ia, Part I (Constantinople, 1929) p. 105, l.3 and 110, l.13; p.114, ll.1ff (cf. al-Sharastānī's *al-Milal wa'l-nihal,* ed., Cureton, p.93, ll.15ff.); and p.94, ll.4ff.

[58] *ibid.,* p.135, ll.8ff.; p.137, ll.6ff. (cf. p.136, l.14 and p.138, l.12); p.139, l.8ff. (cf. pp.134, l.1; 137, l.2). (See my article on "The Character of Early Islamic Sects," in the *Goldziher Memorial Volume,* vol.1, to be published shortly).

[59] cf. his *al-Milal wa'l-nihal,* (ed., Cureton) vol. 1, p.24, l.3 from the bottom (cf. p.25, l.7 from the bottom); vol. 1, p.7, l.3 from the bottom.

[60] cf. D. B. Macdonald's *Development of Muslim Theology, Jurisprudence and Constitutional Theory,* pp. 230 and 242ff.

God is unique,—"there is none like unto Him"—and cannot be compared, or even related, except as Creator, to His creation, man included. On the basis of Quranic texts, says al-Ghazzālī, some hold that God could require of His creatures that which they had not the means to perform, but all hold that it was open to Allah to pain and punish His creatures without sin preceding or recompense following: were they not His property?[61] The question, which contains both the major and minor premises, upon which the previous conclusion, admitted by all, is based, recalls the instance set forth by Allah in XXX:27: "Have ye among the slaves, whom your right hands have won, any partner in what We have bestowed upon you, so that ye share alike? Fear ye them, as ye fear each other?" And verse 29 gives the upshot of the argument: "Set thou thy face, then, as a true convert *(ḥanīf)*, toward the Faith which God has created and for which He has created man. There is no change whatever in the creation of God."

Given the Quranic conception of the source, nature and purpose of the "Book" this reference of the origin of the moral distinction of good and evil to the arbitrary appointment of the Deity was almost inescapable, despite the fact that the Qur'ān also teaches free-will, as the letter of Ḥasan al-Basrī to the Caliph Abdu'l-Malik amply demonstrates.[62] The Mu'tazilites sought to establish reason as the source of religious knowledge and the touchstone of religious truth. But Quranic texts declare that the "Book" is knowledge and truth from God Himself and a code from the very presence of Him.[63]

"Who hath taught the use of the pen:
Hath taught man that which he did not know." (Surah 96)

The sovereign will of God is the only reason of creation and of law as well. "The Most High," says Ibn Ḥazm, "does not do anything for any reason. The Most High does what He wishes. And everything which He does is justice and wisdom, whatever it is."[64] "Thy Lord creates what He pleases, and He acts freely."[65] The "Book" is the basis of ethics. Acts are good or bad according to the will of God as expressed in the Qur'ān and the Traditions. The distinction depends on God's good-pleasure.

The nature of religion and of religious knowledge and truth, the principle of social order, the validity and sphere of human reason, and man's relation to God were all discussed and largely determined

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[61] *ibid.*

[62] See my article on "The Conception of Human Destiny in Islam" in THE MUSLIM WORLD, October 1945.

[63] cf. VIII:37; XLII:13; XLIII:2; LXIX:51; LXII:2; XLVI:29; XXXIX:42; XXVIII:48, 52; XXII:53; XI:20.

[64] See Ignaz Goldziher, *Die Zāhiriten* (Leipzig, 1884), p.43.

[65] XXVIII:68; cf. III:42, 77; XVI:9, 95, 120; XXXII:13; LIII:24, 43—45; LXXVI:30—31.

in orthodox Islam in the light of Muḥammad's convictions regarding the "Book." But by virtue of these convictions the "Book" has also controlled and shaped the whole development of orthodox Muslim thought more decisively and completely than ever the Bible did the course of Christian doctrine.[66] Islam is much more Quranic than Christianity ever was biblical. And the reason of that lies in the Quranic conception of revelation. In Christian doctrine Jesus is the eternal Word of God, whose Spirit, the Spirit of Revelation, dwells in his church. Muḥammad recited God's word as relayed to him from the preserved tablet by the faithful Spirit; and "none may change His words" (XVIII:26).[67]

WILLIAM THOMSON

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HOW RICH THE HARVEST*

Fifty years after the appearance of his first book, *Arabia The Cradle of Islam,* Dr. Zwemer, now an octogenarian, looks back on his rich harvest of memories and offers this new collection of essays and meditations. Twenty chapters, averaging two or three pages in length, are for the most part Bible studies, many of which have appeared in the *Alliance Weekly* and the *Watchman Examiner.* The author hopes that these may "offer pegs for sermons." The six concluding chapters, somewhat longer than the Bible studies, are chiefly on subjects related to missions to Muslims.

Written in the author's usual brisk and challenging style the book is both easy to read and thought provoking. No one without a vast experience of travel in many lands and a profound knowledge of both the Bible and the Qur'ān could have written it.

Those who know Dr. Zwemer will especially enjoy and appreciate these light-hearted messages of faith and confidence from the pen of one who knows so well the meaning of "blood, sweat and tears."

ELEANOR T. CALVERLEY

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[66] cf., for example, the question of the divine attributes or names, or of God's action, or the question of the creation and constitution of the world, or of man, or the question of the future life. The Qur'ān sets the problems of Muslim theology, and the answers are brought into line with its thought as far as possible and mostly quite successfully.

[67] Which recalls a Puritan position that "the Head of the Church has given in His Word not only a correct but a comprehensive and sufficient pattern and model."

* By Samuel M. Zwemer. New York, Fleming R. Revell Company, 1948. pp. 120. $2.00.

BOOK REVIEWS

Die Welt des Islam und ihre Beruhringen mit den Christenheit. Von Gottfried Simon. Gütersloh, Germany, C. Bertelsmann Verlag. pp. 693. German Marks 12.

This is the third of three outstanding appraisals of Islam and its relation to Christianity by three evangelical German scholars. Sixty years ago S. W. Koelle wrote his in English entitled, *Mohammed and Mohammedanism Critically Considered* (London, 1888). The second, *Der Islam,* by Emanuel Kellerhals (Basel Missionsbuchhandlung, 1945), was reviewed in our Quarterly (Vol. 36:81), although far too briefly for so important a study. Kellerhals wrote with theological acumen and from a Biblical standpoint. His work is eminently worthy of an English translation.

Now we have from Gottfried Simon a more portly volume with a very full bibliography and a careful index. Curiously the bibliography omits reference to the above mentioned studies by earlier writers on the same theme and from the same angle. (Some would say with the same theological prejudice). Dr. Simon began his study of Islam as pioneer missionary in Sumatra under the Rhenish Mission and wrote a number of important works on Islam in Indonesia. Later as professor in the Theological School at Bethel-Bielefeld he contributed articles to THE MOSLEM WORLD of which the one on Luther's attitude to Islam aroused much interest (M. W. Vol. 21: 257). The present study gives his mature judgment on a problem that has occupied his mind and heart for nearly a half-century. He, as well as S. W. Koelle who labored for many years in West Africa and Turkey and Emanuel Kellerhals as mission secretary at Basel, knew Islam not from the Balcony but from the Road. "Truth is found upon the Road. It might even be said that only when a man descends from the Balcony to the Road does he begin to know what reality is."[1] These three men walked the road in the burden and the heat before they described it to others.

Our author divides his volume into two equal parts. The first, *Islam in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (pp. 15-342); the second, *Weltmissionaufgabe der Christlichen Kirche und der Islam* (pp. 343-661). The earlier chapters deal with Muhammad, the rise of Islam and its spread, the articles of the Muslim creed, mysticism, Islamic law, the sects in Islam, modernism and a special chapter on Islamic methods of propaganda (pp. 289-336). The author covers encyclopedic ground in these chapters and they are based mostly on the old standard authorities; Becker, Hurgronje, Tor Andrae, Goldziher etc. His bibliography, which is fairly up-to-date, includes 353 titles besides references to periodicals.

Although not always up-to-date there is considerable new material, e.g., on the entrance and spread of Islam in Japan, the origin of the Crescent as symbol, Islam as political pawn used in the First and Second World Wars by the European powers to their own detriment and the destruction of human rights and liberties.

Because of isolation from the Allied powers, Dr. Simon does not deal with more recent political questions such as Palestine and Indonesia. The value of his study and its main emphasis is therefore,

[1] John A. Mackay, *Preface to Christian Theology,* p. 39.

the second part, namely, the world-mission of the Christian Church to Islam. This falls into two long chapters, one on the history of Christian Missions to Muslims (pp. 243-477), and the other on Relationships (*Auseinandersetzung,* pp. 478-660).

We can best indicate the thorough work of Dr. Simon by a bare summary of this latter invaluable section. In less than two hundred pages we have an account of medieval and modern efforts to win Muslims to Christ, with a brief introduction on the causes of the neglect of the Church through the long centuries to attempt her task of evangelism. Even today the effort to carry the gospel to the world of Islam is in no sense proportionate to its extent or its difficulty. An analysis of the means used to this end is given: Bible circulation, special literature, hospitals, schools and direct proclamation of the good news. Dr. Simon gives examples of these various methods and their efficacy or apparent failure. We have an important summary (ten pages) of the converts and churches composed of such converts in Muslim lands: Egypt, Iran, Bengal, Java, East Africa, etc., and a touching martyrology from Raymund Lull to our own day. Sweat and tears and blood as the result of the law of apostasy; a chapter of Church-history, says Dr. Simon, largely unknown and unread.

The final chapter of Simon's work is the most important for in it he unfolds from his long personal experience and wide reading his conception of the vital issues between Islam and Christianity; their utter disparity in spite of mutual influences and outward resemblances. He does not mince words in condemning wrong approach to the problem and false methods of propaganda. This is not a manual of comparative religions. "Religion and Revelation cannot be compared but only placed over against each other, their mutual boundaries defined and definitely separated from each other" (Kellerhals, p. 337). In this Christian-theological way Simon contrasts: Bible and Qur'ān, Jesus and Muhammad, God as Father and God as Lord of the world, the Trinity and Allah, Eternal life and Muhammad's Paradise, Grace and Law, the Christian Church and Islamic brotherhood, regeneration and culture (pp. 509-638). No other writer, as far as I know, has shown deeper insight, clearer judgment and a more loving heart in writing on this theme.

It is because this volume comes so very near to being *very* good that one wants it brought up to date and made better. Nevertheless, but for some omissions and some unaccountable minor errors, Simon's work can be strongly commended to all serious students of Islam and of its contacts with Christianity in its long history. In these critical days when two world wars have blinded the clear vision of German Christians and of ourselves, German scholars still have much to teach us. We can never repay the debt we owe to German Orientalists who were for more than a century pioneers in the scientific study of Islam as a religious system and those evangelical German missionaries who also furnished the ablest apologetic for the Christian faith by their accurate *Auseinandersetzung* of these disparate theologies, soteriologies and eschatologies. One may refer in closing to a series of six articles in the Roman Catholic *Nue Zeitschrift fur Missions Wissenschaft* (1948-1949) by P. J. Henninger on *Spuren christlichen Glaubenswahrheiten im Koran.*

The number and variety of these "Traces of Christian truth" he

discovers are surprising and illuminating. The article on Angelology (IV: 2) covers thirteen pages and offers material not found even in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*. While the concluding paragraph sets forth the contrast and conflict even in this minor dogma: "One thing is missing in Islamic angelology, namely their relation to Jesus Christ. Apart from the Annunciation of the birth His name in the Qur'ān is never linked with angels. That Christ in whom dwelleth the fullness of the Godhead bodily is head over all angels (Col. 1:15-17; Heb. 1: 4-14) and that before Him every knee in heaven and earth shall bow—is denied by Islam. And so in this respect also, despite the many particular agreements of doctrine, we see again the depth of the chasm between Christendom and Islam. Christ is to them not the center and pivot of world-history and redemption and, therefore, is not the center of adoration to the multitude of angels and the redeemed." Christian and Muslim theologians need to remember that the old formula of *thesis, antithesis, synthesis,* must not lose its middle term in the right understanding of history and in the sympathetic proclamation of the Gospel with deepest convictions. The old Nestorian missions in Asia are an example of this fatal danger.

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Ta'lim al-Muta'allim-Tariq at-Ta'allum. By AzZarnuji. Translated, with an introduction by G. E. von Grunebaum and Theodora M. Abel. New York, Published under the Auspices of The Iranian Institute and School of Asiatic Studies, New York, 1947.

In an important article in the *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics,* the great Arabic and Islamic scholar of the preceding generation, Ignace Goldziher, dismisses with a footnote the little monograph that is here presented to us in full translation and annotation.

The work is well worth all the time and care it has received from the scholar and student, the sponsor and publisher who have presented it for public perusal.

This book describes the educational ideals and methods of not just one Muslim teacher of one mediaeval generation in one Oriental land, but it presents the picture of the typical Quranic schoolmaster of all Arabic-speaking peoples down to our own date. It is the standard book on the principles of elementary Islamic pedagogy for the one-master mosque-schools in countries where modern systems of government-controlled education have not as yet been introduced.

There have been teachers in Islamdom better than al-Zarnuji both before and since his time. But the ideals, motives and methods that he commended are those of the mosque pedagogue. The book lays down strict limits of curiosity and interest of students and it restricts the activities and experiments of scholars. It is the influence of this and similar books that has kept the major part of the population of the East educationally limited and socially and economically retarded, while the natural and industrial resources of their countries remained undeveloped, until Western enterprise and science appeared.

It is not too much to say that too much of the religious attitude taught by this book has produced too little good for the common people. The natural consequence of over-attention to the soul alone

and over-emphasis on the next life left too little time and strength to care for the welfare of the whole personality and the needs of the community. There is not a word in the whole book that encourages social service.

For a number of years I have used my own translations of passages from al-Zarnuji's work to give our students a picture of Islamic pedagogy. It is a great advantage to have the whole work adequately translated for their use.

EDWIN E. CALVERLEY

What Can We Believe? By Vergilius Ferm. New York, Philosophical Library, 1948. pp. 206. $3.00.

This book was written to help ordinary people find better answers for their religious questions. It is directed ". . . to that large middle-class of persons which has been reared in a positive religious tradition but toward which it has become lukewarm because winter has set in" (p. 3). The author aims to help such people start at "scratch" and construct a new and reasonable faith. He lays down eight "first principles" which are to guide the neophyte in this reconstruction. These principles are far from simple. They are obviously formulated by a philosopher who is more interested in rationalistic procedures than he is in historic religious realities. It is difficult to see how the definition of religion given on pages 71-72, and diagrammed on pages 74-75 can help the persons to whom the book is addressed obtain a clearer faith. It is highly subjective, rationalistic and abstract. God is described as existent and as the source of moral obligation. Prof. Ferm is deeply concerned over the meaning of the word "God." He realizes the decisive importance of the character of the God men worship. It is, therefore, strange that he gives so little consideration to this most significant reality.

Prof. Ferm insists that there is no one normative type of Christianity. There are as many Christianities as there are Christian thinkers. He, therefore, feels free to draw up a new set of specifications for Christianity. His picture of "Ideal Christianity," described on page 92, stresses the "normal, sane, legitimate human and natural" elements. This is quite a different interpretation from New Testament Christianity, which is primarily concerned about what God has done in and through Jesus Christ to reconcile sinful men unto Himself. Is it not possible to describe this central concern of New Testament Christianity in simple, twentieth century language?

In his chapter on "The Wheel of Fortune," Prof. Ferm argues the case for both freedom and order. But strangely enough he relates neither freedom nor order to God. They are attributed to fate and chance, and of these two "the greatest and the most fundamental is Fate without which things could not be or endure" (p. 180). How much more helpful for the people the author has in mind, would a simple, clear, discussion of what is involved in the Christian faith in God's providence, have been!

The best section of the book is that wherein the significance of the Church is discussed. Prof. Ferm presents a good case for the need of the Christian for the Church, and offers fresh suggestions for enabling the Church to serve the spiritually hungry people of the modern age.

Prof. Ferm had in mind meeting the needs of the large numbers of intelligent people who have become dissatisfied with traditional, rationalistic statements of the Christian Faith. That is a worthy aim. One may doubt whether he has succeeded in meeting this need. Perhaps Prof. Ferm is too much interested in philosophy to be able to meet the religious needs of this group of readers. He has recognized an urgent need of the modern man. Perhaps his attempt to meet this need will encourage some one else to attempt an even simpler, more persuasive, fresh statement of the Christian faith for the millions.

E. Jerome Johanson

Hartford Seminary Foundation

Saadia Gaon The Book of Beliefs and Opinions, translated from the Arabic and the Hebrew. By Samuel Rosenblatt, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1948.

When Saadia Gaon, the spiritual head of the famous Babylonian Talmudical Academy in Sura (882-952), undertook to write *The Book of Beliefs and Opinions* (933), Oriental Judaism was beset by many difficulties. Karaism was at its peak. Its able and enthusiastic exponents vehemently attacked the legality of the Oral Law. Their skillfully conducted propaganda—by word of mouth, book and pamphlet—found eager adherents both among the learned and the unlettered. Sectarians of various shades and intentions, drawing inspiration from the never-ceasing schisms and theological differences in dominant Islam, threatened the very unity of Eastern Jewry. In the light of current systems of Greek philosophy many were the heretics who found their religious heritage wanting. Their exponent, Hiwwi the Balchite, a contemporary of Saadia, ridiculed the Bible, denied the freedom of the will and the doctrine of retribution, scoffed at the divine attributes as formulated in the Bible, and taught that the world was uncreated. His influence reached the elementary Jewish religious schools where his attacks on the Bible were taught to the young. In their earnest desire to immunize Judaism against these disruptive tendencies some of its spiritual leaders adopted an intransigent attitude and opposed all forms of speculative thought. Anthropomorphisms in the Bible were accepted literally, resulting in the spread of gross superstitions among the Jewish masses, which again threatened the very essence of monotheism.

To overcome all these difficulties, Saadia undertook the composition of his philosophical treatise. His aims were manifold: to refute all charges falsely leveled against Judaism, to prove its superiority over all religious systems and philosophic doctrines, to establish the absolute unity of God (p. 93, end, ff.), to lend philosophic proof to revelation (pp. 27, end, -31) indicating their interdependence and compatibility, and, finally, to place a literary guide into the hands of those who wavered between blind faith and arrogant heresy (p. 6 ff.).

This book is the first successful formulation of medieval Jewish philosophy, and embraces the whole range of problems which troubled medieval Jewish thinkers. Its ten chapters and Introduction discuss, *inter alia*: the causes of doubt and heresy, the sources of human knowledge, *creatio ex nihilo* (analyzing and rejecting twelve divergent views), God and His attributes, the indispensability of prophecy, the importance of authentic tradition, the eternity of Jew-

ish Law, the freedom of the will, reward and punishment, redemption of Israel, and retribution in the Hereafter. Its influence upon successive generations was exerted both by Hebrew paraphrases and abridgments, and by complete and partial translations into Hebrew (1186), Latin (1717), and German (more in the nature of a paraphrase, 1845).

The present complete English translation (an abridged English rendition by Alexander Altman, Oxford, 1946, was brought to Professor Rosenblatt's attention when "the text of this translation was already set up in type," p. viii) constitutes Volume 1 of the Yale Judaica Series, a project established in 1944 and since then known as *Judaica Research at Yale University on the Rabinowitz Foundation.* Of the purpose of this project we learn from the Prefatory Note by one of its distinguished editors, Professor Julian J. Obermann, that it is to "consist mainly of translations of ancient and medieval Jewish classics, whether the original be Hebrew, Arabic, Ethiopic, or . . . Arabic," as well as of the preparation, whenever desirable, of "critical editions of texts to be translated or critical monographs on works already translated" (p. v).

In the execution of his task, Professor Samuel Rosenblatt, an able Arabist and a scholar of repute, exercised meticulous care and judiciously handled all difficulties presented by the Arabic text. Aside from Ibn Tibbon's Hebrew translation (1186), which, though marred by numerous scribal errors, mirrors the underlying Arabic text, the expository works of Guttmann, Ventura, Malter, Husik and others were used to great advantage (p. viii). The translation incorporates many variants found either in both Ibn Tibbon and the St. Petersburg manuscript (M)—one of the manuscripts of Landauer's edition of the Arabic text (1881)—or in one of them, and emendations suggested by Landauer (pp. 32, n. 20; 33, n. 42; cf., however, p. 211, n. 16—Arabic text p. 170 n. 1—where the suggested emendation is rejected). Rosenblatt indicates that some Talmudic quotations cited by Saadia differ "somewhat" from those found "in the common editions of the Babylonian Talmud (see pp. 257, n. 56; 257, n. 56). The following variants, however, have not been indicated: Ta'an. 18b, p. 194; Kid. 39b, p. 211; Sanh. 91a, p. 253; ib. 90a, p. 276 (erroneously in Index 376); Suk. 52b, p. 276; M.K. 27b, pp. 276-7; Sanh. 91b, p. 286; ib. 97b, p. 301; and Ber. 17a, p. 334. Similarly, we note that some adopted readings found with Ibn Tibbon and supported by the St. Petersburg manuscript are also not indicated, e.g. "the opposite acts," p. 60, line 17, corresponding to *al-fi'lāni,* p. 50, note 1, Arabic text, and to Ibn Tibbon's *sĕney hamma 'asīm,* and "and strengthen it," p. 254, line 4, corresponding to the variant *wa-yu'ayyidahā,* p. 203, note 5, Arabic text, and to Ibn Tibbon's *u-lĕ-ammĕṣo.* Rosenblatt indicates additions by Ibn Tibbon (e.g. p. 166, note 32) but so should also omissions have been indicated, e.g. the words: *Wa-minhum man ikhtāra jam'a 'l-māli fa-'iqāmahu lil-nāsi,* p. 283, line 12. (Cf., however, p. 6, n. 12 where omission in the Arabic text is indicated.) A good feature of the translation is that, whenever necessary, biblical quotations are rendered with the purpose of conveying to the reader the meaning pressed into them by Saadia. Such needed departure from the accepted rendition is always indicated by the remark "the usual translation

is . . ." Similarly, whenever required by context, the usually fuller biblical quotations of Ibn Tibbon are cited with the remark: "this quotation follows the reading of Ibn Tibbon."

In addition to a Preface (pp. vii-vix), a System of Transliteration (pp. xi-xii), and an Introduction (pp. xxiii-xxxii), the translation is well supplied with: (a) "an analytical table of contents . . . modeled after that of Israel Halevi, the author of the commentary *Šĕbhil ha-'Emunah,*" on Ibn Tibbon's Hebrew translation (pp. xiii-xxi); (b) a comprehensive Index of Subjects and Names (pp. 437-75); (c) indexes of all biblical, tanaitic and talmudic passages quoted by Saadia (pp. 476-94); and (d) a short Glossary (pp. 495-6).

An important feature of this translation is the inclusion of Treatise VII (see Appendix, pp. 409-35) the Arabic text of which (published by Wilhelm Bacher, see p. 409, note 1) greatly differs from the text published by Landauer, and which Ibn Tibbon utilized for his Hebrew translation.

The book is remarkably free from misprints; however the following were noted by the reviewer: on pp. 4, "off" instead of "or"; 47, note 5 "kĕri" instead of "kĕre"; 128, note 69 "perfection" instead of "imperfection"; and 156 "man" instead of "men." This translation will be of great assistance to the student of medieval Jewish philosophy, and will introduce him to the most important philosophic work of one of the most versatile exponents of rational Judaism in medieval times. Professor Rosenblatt admirably succeeded in maintaining the proper balance between the Arabic original and English idiom. In the words of Saadia (p. 115 end) he "translated . . . in accordance with . . . clear understanding of the underlying thoughts."

PINCHAS WECHTER

Gratz College, Philadelphia, Pa.

Iran Then and Now. By Nouhie Aidin. London, C.M.S., 1948. pp. 16. 9d.

This small pamphlet is issued as one of a series to commemorate the third jubilee, or 150 years' work of the Church Missionary Society.

There is a short review of missionary work in Iran from Henry Martyn down to the present. The facts relate to the C.M.S. work in the southern part of the country and the American Presbyterian Mission in the northern portion of Persia is mentioned only incidentally in connection with union work.

Stories of the early difficulties in the Muslim land, incidents concerning a number of converts from Islam, a brief review of the work in each of the C.M.S. stations and general observations on the country in general combine to make this an interesting brochure.

J. CHRISTY WILSON

Princeton, N. J.

History of the Persian Empire. By A. T. Olmstead. Chicago, The University of Chicago Press, 1948. pp. 568. Maps 7 pages. Plates 70 pages. $10.00.

Works like this are called "monumental" so many times that the word becomes trite. However, there is an added reason to call this book a monument to the author. It is published several years after

his death. The Preface in fact is dated October 18, 1943. The book is published in 1948.

The title of the volume is a misnomer, unless one notices on the title page in brackets (Achaemenid Period). Iran or Persia has been a continuous Empire from the time of the legendary kings of shadowy pre-history down to the present. Actually the time period covered in this book is from Cyrus, a little before the middle of the sixth century B.C., to the burning of Persepolis by Alexander the Great in 330 B.C.

None should miss the prefatory chapters which give some new insights on ancient history in general before the start of the actual historical narrative of the Achaemenid Monarchy. The first words rivet our attention: "When Cyrus entered Babylon in 539 B.C. the world was old. More significant, the world knew its antiquity." In fact kings before this time had the real antiquarian spirit in both Mesopotamia and Egypt.

"True man is first discovered in the Near East. Before the first period of intense rainfall and glaciation, he had begun to chip flints." There is a brief resumé of ancient history from this prehistoric age down to the Persian monarchy under Cyrus, with an interesting chapter on Iranian Origins. The author is never satisfied with mere political history but goes into economic and social life, as well as intellectual trends and has a special interest in the culture and religion of the people whose history he records.

There is particular interest in reading and reviewing this volume because in 1939 the author and his family were guests in the home of the reviewer for several days in Iran. Much of the manuscript was in hand at that time, as well as many notes for another volume on the periods which follow up to the time of the Muslim conquest. We wonder whether the later volume will be published now that the author has departed. At least we can say that Professor Olmstead was a wonderful guest to have in the home—almost too interesting as most of the nights were spent in discussion of points that were not clear.

For instance, much time was spent in tracing the route of Mark Antony on his disastrous campaign to Praaspa Vera, the Parthian stronghold, and his return northward to Armenia after the defeat. Dr. Olmstead had translations of the sources and the reviewer had been over most of the territory and could recognize many geographical references. We remember also driving the family out to look at sunset across the light blue waters of Lake Urumia and picking out bits of pottery from one of the ash hills which date back to prehistory (mentioned on page 17).

With chapter III on Cyrus the author enters upon the period which his history is definitely to cover. One notices that the narrative is thoroughly documented. Professor Olmstead had a truly marvelous control of the sources. He has also given us dates translated into our own way of reckoning. Of these dates we read in a note, "Henceforth dates by the Babylonian and Jewish calendars are turned into our own Julian chronology by means of the tables of Parker and Dubberstein." These authors have pointed out that seventy per cent. of the dates are astronomically correct to the day, while the remaining thirty per cent. are not at variance by more

than a single day, which is certainly close enough for most historical purposes.

Here we see how Cyrus rose to power and laid the foundations of the great monarchy which was to follow. The capital built by this truly great ruler has been known as Pasargadae, from Heroditus, who naturally follows the Greek form. The actual Persian name was no doubt Parsagard, or Camp of the Persians, which is the title of an interesting chapter on this original capital. Then follows, according to the scheme of the author, a chapter on the life of the subject peoples as shown from the documents.

We have the story of the conquest of Egypt by Cambyses, son of Cyrus and then an interesting interlude on the prophet Zoroaster, whose life and teachings may be far better understood now than a few years ago, Professor Ernst Herzfeld having made remarkable contributions on this subject. It is now clear that Vishtaspa or Hystaspes, as he was known to the Greeks, was the convert and protector of the prophet when he fled from his own home in Northwestern Iran. This ruler was also the father of Darius, who was born soon after the conversion of his parent.

Vishtaspa or Hystaspes was made satrap of Parthia and Hyrcania and "accompanied Cyrus on his last and fatal expedition. Cambyses took the young son (Darius) into his personal service. In 522, at the age of 28, Darius was king's spear bearer in Egypt. Before the year was ended Darius was king."

From a critical study of the sources Professor Olmstead feels that Darius in his Behistun* inscription and in other sources gives an official version of his rise to power which is like a modern "whitewash" or justification of his acts. Darius calls others "liars" and affirms his own truth so often and so strongly that one must naturally feel, "he doth protest too much."

The fact that a very young man could dispose of all who rose against him and consolidate the great Empire from Egypt to India does stamp him as a real genius. The records which have come to light add that he was a great organizer and administrator, and that he was also an economist and financier of no mean ability. In fact his nickname over the Empire came to be "The Huckster." But he was much more. He collected codes of law from Egypt and Babylon and other ancient sources. He sent Persian students to be trained in Egypt and other places. He was assiduous in gathering the highest in culture and education from all parts of the great Empire.

The chapter on Persepolis is most revealing. The author has brought before us much information from the thousands of clay tablets found on the platform dating from the time of Darius and Xerxes. Most all of these were in Elamite, but now they can be read. The Old Persian was an artificial language as written in cuneiform. Even an inscription on a huge single block of stone in the south wall of the platform is largely in Persian but suddenly changes to Elamite.

The name for Persepolis should actually be "Parsa-polis" as the name Parsa was apparently applied to both the province and the city. The Achaemenid monarchs had three other capitals beside

* Dr. Olmstead still writes the name Behistun though in modern Persian at least, it is called Besitun.

Persepolis, they were Ecbatana—the modern Hamadan, Babylon and Susa. A short chapter is devoted to these three. Later on there is a second chapter about Persepolis, describing the *No Ruz* or New Year presentation in detail, as it is depicted on the wonderful carvings on stairways and buildings. These magnificent friezes are also treated in detail at various points in the book.

The Oriental sources give us a far different picture of Xerxes than has been held by the Western world, for we have depended so largely upon the official story as issued by only one side of the struggle. The Greeks in fact changed the actual character of this monarch as much as they did his name. In Persian it was Khshayarsha—which the Greeks did not even endeavor to pronounce but let him go as Mr. X, or Xerxes.

To the ruler of the mighty Persian Empire the contest with Greece was only one of a number of campaigns going on from India to Egypt. Though some battles were lost Xerxes kept the larger number of Greeks under his sway and also kept Egypt, which was of greater importance to his Empire than further expansion in European Greece.

There are most interesting judgments on Herodotus as well as new angles of vision in comparing Socrates and Plato with the scientists of the Orient. The religion of various peoples enters the narative repeatedly and one gains a new and more vital idea than has been possible before of the culture and life through the vast expanse of the Empire in these centuries of more than two thousand years ago.

Very few people would know off hand that the temple of Diana at Ephesus and the Mausoleum at Halicarnassus, two of the seven wonders of the ancient world, were the products of Achaemenid rule in Asia Minor.

Following Xerxes the signs of internal decay increased and there was not much advance such as had been the case under the early rulers. Finally, by the time of Alexander the Great the mighty Empire was ready to collapse.

There can be little doubt that the picture presented by Professor Olmstead is more accurate than the one most students of history had from purely Greek sources. This is probably the largest single contribution of this book, which should stand in a place of authority for years to come.

Of special interest to students of the Old Testament is the fact that Aramaic was commonly spoken in the time of Cyrus and was no doubt the actual language used to send out the edicts of the Persian king to western parts of the Empire. Some years ago critics had held that the Aramaic portions of Daniel marked the book as not earlier than the second century B.C. The tablets discovered on the platform at Persepolis have many words in the same Aramaic and it is now shown that this very language was commonly used in the time of Darius and even before that.

One can hardly end a review in a better way than to quote a summary paragraph of the author:

"For the whole empire period, archeologist and philologist have come to the aid of the historian. Like Persepolis, Susa has been excavated and its Elamite literature made known, though the mound

at Ecbatana awaits its turn. The mounds of Babylonian cities have afforded thousands of business documents which are dated in the reigns of Persian monarchs and have for the first time made possible a sketch of economic life within their empire. Egyptian temples erected by Persian kings, or more numerous shrines built by native rulers in successful rebellion against them, may be visited by the most casual tourist. Hieroglyphic inscriptions and demotic or Aramaic papyri have been deciphered and add to our knowledge. No longer are we entirely dependent on the Greek "classics" for the story of Persia, even in its relations with the West; new excavations in Greek lands have rewarded us with valuable inscriptions and have shown us how Asia prospered in the last days of Achaemenid rule. As for the Biblical story of the Jews, it has become a vitally new history when viewed against the contemporary background. Close to twenty-three centuries have elapsed since Alexander burned Persepolis; now at last, through the united effort of archeologist, philologist, and historian, Achaemenid Persia has risen from the dead."

It should finally be said that the text is supplemented by many fine plates and a number of maps.

J. Christy Wilson

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The Ansab al-Ashraf of al-Baladhuri. Published for the first time by the School of Oriental Studies, Hebrew University, Jerusalem. Vol. IV B, edited by Max Schloessinger, Jerusalem, 1938. Vol. V, edited by S. D. F. Goitein. Jerusalem, the University Press, 1936. With Annotations and Indices.

When the School of Oriental Studies at the Hebrew University, Jerusalem, was founded, it was greeted as a very important instrument for the work towards better understanding between Jews and Arabs. It was publicly acclaimed as such and in private conversation its first Visiting Director, Professor Josef Horovitz, of the University of Frankfurt am Main, expressed the hope that the research in Islamic and Arabic studies to be done by the School would bring Arabic and Jewish scholarship together and might become an important factor in the establishment of peace between Jews and Arabs. That the Hebrew University continuously worked in that direction may be seen from the fact published in its regular reports that numbers of Muslims and other non-Jewish Orientals have availed themselves of the facilities offered at the Jerusalem University.

Two very large tasks were entrusted to the School of Oriental Studies at Jerusalem; each had been a desideratum for many years and the necessity of undertaking the work had been recognized already by the generation of Arabic scholars preceding ours. First, at Professor Horovitz's suggestion, the School prepared a Concordance of Ancient Arabic Poetry, pre-Islamic, Umaiyad, and early Abbassid; although it has not yet been published, it is available to scholars on writing for information to the School of Oriental Studies at Jerusalem.

The second work that the School of Oriental Studies undertook as a joint effort of its members with the collaboration of other scholars was the publication of the great work of the Arabian his-

torian al-Balādhurī. The importance of this work and the need for its publication was recognized long ago. In 1883 the eminent German Orientalist W. Ahlwardt published "an anonymous Arabic chronicle" which he tentatively identified as being part of al-Balādhurī's *Ansāb al-Ashrāf*. This view was accepted by Noeldeke and Thorbeke and the identification verified by De Goeje who examined the manuscript of the *Ansāb* preserved in Paris. The Paris ms., however, is incomplete; but in 1902 C. H. Becker announced that he had found a complete ms. of the work in Istanbul. A number of leading Orientalists declared their willingness, at that time, to co-operate in an edition of this highly important and instructive work, but for some reason or other the project did not mature. There the matter rested until the Jerusalem School took over the task of preparing the edition.

There are a number of early Arabic works dealing with the history of the Muslim world, to most of which, by way of introduction, is added a "history of the world"—which means mainly Biblical history and legends and Oriental history—from the Creation to the time of the Prophet. These may be grouped in two classes: works which give a chronological and consecutive account of world history and history of Islām, and others which group their report round the central figure of the Prophet, his contemporaries, the *Aṣḥāb,* and outstanding personalities in the following generations. In both groups, however, the historical point of view is upheld and the authors are constantly aware of, and follow, the chronological sequence of events. The most important work in the first class is the *Annals (Ta'rīkh)* of aṭ-Ṭabarī (d.309A.H./923A.D.) which was published under the general editorship of De Goeje in Leiden. These *Annals* give a year-by-year report of the events from Muḥammad's time to the year 302 A.H. preceded by a history of the world before Muḥammad. The representative work of the second kind is Ibn Sa'd's *Kitāb aṭ-Ṭabaqāt al-Kabīr,* the so-called "Book of Classes" (edited by E. Sachau and others in Leiden). Ibn Sa'd's work contains biographies of the leading persons in the Islamic world including a detailed account of the Prophet's life and character, a report of his wars and missions, and biographies of outstanding women of the Prophet's entourage.

Al-Balādhurī, however, chose an entirely different approach for his study. As the title of his work indicates, his interest is focussed on the families of the Islamic nobility and, therefore, the "genealogies of the noblemen" are the framework of the author's representation of Islamic history. This arrangement allowed him to widen the scope of the book and to make it "a mixture of genealogy, biography, general history, the activities of sects and political groups, *ḥadīth, adab*" (vol. V, p. 21), thus instructing and entertaining at the same time. As a consequence, however, this arrangement forces him to disregard the chronological order of events almost entirely and to relate contemporary events in different volumes of his work, instead of evaluating their connexion and interrelation. On the other hand it frees him from the obligation to force his material into a definite chronological system, for which reason al-Balādhurī's chronology on many occasions is more trustworthy than that of aṭ-Ṭabarī and other authors. To give a few instances of the effect

of the underlying principle of genealogy: Yazīd b. Mu'āwiya, the second Umaiyad caliph is introduced (vol. IV B) before 'Uthmān b. 'Affān, the third Orthodox caliph, has been dealt with (vol. V). Another typical example is the way the author arranges the biography of such an important personality as 'Abdallāh b. az-Zubair, the opponent of the Umaiyad caliphs. Instead of relating the story at once in its entirety, the author interrupts it and tells it in connexion with the respective caliphs whom Ibn az-Zubair opposed (vol. IV B, pp. 16-61: Ibn az-Zubair's opposition to the Umaiyads after Ḥusain had been killed at Kerbela; vol. V, pp. 188-378; his subsequent history, until his death, at the time of Merwān and 'Abd al-Malik). The reason for this arrangement is the fact that the caliphs in question belonged to two different branches of the Umaiyad family.

Though this type of arrangement of his material tend to impair al-Balādhurī's reputation as a historian, if we use this word in its modern connotation, it furnishes him with an opportunity to add much material which is not strictly "history" in the modern conception of this term. However, it would be unfair to condemn al-Balādhurī as historian. Arabic historiography consisted to a very large extent in accumulating and collecting all available information on a person or on a historical event; and al-Balādhurī differs only in the arrangement of his material from other writers. The value of Arabic historical works lies exactly in the way they record every available scrap of information and the task of weighing and evaluating the data and of writing "history" evolves on us. The Arabic historian Ibn al-Athīr tried to do that in his *Ta'rīkh al-Kabīr* using aṭ-Ṭabarī's *Ta'rīkh* to a large extent, omitting, however, to state the sources and authorities (the *isnād),* smoothing over discrepancies, and easing difficulties. For us, the value of aṭ-Ṭabarī's work by far surpasses that of Ibn al-Athīr's.

The edition of al-Balādhurī's work, as far as it has been published, is a masterpiece. Out of the 1227 folios of the whole work ca. 160 folios (110 fos. in vol. V, ca. 50 fols. in vol. IV B) are now made accessible. In vol. V, the first to be published, S.D.F. Goitein gives the general introduction into the work, discussing the author's life and personality, the available manuscript, the scope of the work, its sources, its literary character, and the political inclination of its author; finally, he discusses later writers who used the *Ansāb* for their own works. This introduction is also published in Hebrew and Arabic. Vol. V comprises the history of 'Uthmān b. 'Affān, from his election by the *Ahl ash-Shūrā* to his assassination, the history of his children and descendants, leading up to an account of al-Merwān who belonged to the same family although he reigned only some thirty years later. As already mentioned, a large part of this volume is taken up by the political events centered round 'Abdallāh b. az-Zubair.

Vol. IV B, edited by the late Max Schloessinger, although comprising a part of al-Balādhurī's *Ansāb* immediately preceding, deals with events that happened later than those contained in vol. V, due to the arrangement of the whole work. It gives the history of Yazīd b. Mu'āwiya, the second Umaiyad caliph, and that of the children of Ziyād b. Abīhi, one of the most influential supporters of

Yazīd's father Mu'āwiya. The full biography of Ziyād himself is contained in vol. IV A (in preparation, edited by Dr. Schloessinger and after his death, by G. L. Della Vida), in connexion with the biography of Mu'āwiya. Several other members of the Sufyān family are also recorded in vol. IV B. As Dr. Schloessinger points out, the most fateful event in Yazīd's reign, the battle of Kerbela and Ḥusain b. 'Alī's death—an event still commemorated throughout the Shi'ite world—is not recorded here, in its proper chronological place, but in the chapter that deals with 'Alī's family.

Both volumes are supplied with two sets of annotations, in English. Parallel passages are quoted to an amazingly full extent in the first set. They are utilized to make up for the lack of subsidiary manuscripts in establishing the correct reading in doubtful or corrupt passages of the only extant complete manuscript. The second group of notes represents a commentary on the text, elucidating difficult passages even translating many of these, discussing grammatical points or particularities of style and language, and adding pertinent explanation of the subject matter and references to books and articles which would contribute towards the interpretation of the work. An index of personal and geographical names is added to each volume. An index of the poetry quoted in the entire work, made by Dr. H. Baneth, is complete in manuscript in Jerusalem.

The excellence and care with which the whole work was done is especially visible in the way the Arabic text was edited. The Arabic fount used is beautiful and clear; the text is sparingly, but discriminatingly, vocalized. Thus the outer form and the high standard of the publication do justice to the importance of the work. It is the first time that an Arabic text was printed in Jerusalem according to modern scholarly standards, and the Hebrew printing house, the Azriel Press in Jerusalem, has done an excellent job.

In spite of the drawbacks inherent in the arrangement chosen by the author, his book is full of important and to a large degree entirely new or little known information. No one working in the field of Arabic history can, in future, afford to disregard the *Ansāb*.

Although the authorities on which practically all the classic Arabic writers rely, are nearly always the same (e.g., Ibn al-Kalbī, al-Haitham, al-Wāqidī, Abū Mikhnaf, al-Madā'inī), they differ in the selection of their material. Thus every new book that becomes accessible is a distinct contribution to, and expansion of, our knowledge of Arabic and Islamic history. The School of Oriental Studies as well as the editors may justly be proud of their masterly contribution to Islamic studies.

ILSE LICHTENSTADTER

New York City

Inside Pan-Arabia. By M. J. Steiner. New York, Hendricks House—Farrar Straus, 1947. pp. 237. $3.00.

The outstanding feature of this book is its trenchant setting forth of the Jewish claims to Palestine. In the handling of documentary claims based on the Balfour Declaration and subsequent statements; in the treatment of the historic association of the Jews with Pales-

tine, and in its emphasis upon the service of Jews to western democracy, it is most convincing. Whether or not one fully accepts all the arguments it cannot but create sympathy toward the aspirations of the Jews to have a homeland of their very own and to be restored to nationhood.

One would be perhaps more sympathetic were the book not so clearly an ex parte statement. Many thoughtful Arabs would accept the author's shrewd diagnosis of some of the ills of the Arab world, but where the keynote of anti-Arab feeling is sounded so constantly and so violently one cannot but question the presence of objective judgment. The Arab is stripped of all claims to distinction. There is no true Arab race; it was not the Arab but others who spoke Arabic who preserved Greek culture during the dark ages. The translators of Plato and Aristotle into Arabic were not Arabs. The Arabs produced nothing except the Qur'ān. They did not even give us the Arabic numerals or the decimal system but these came from India. "They are a desert people and they produce a desert." Such are the author's concentrated attacks on every claim that has been made for the Arab's contribution to society.

No one who has known the Arab intimately but will question the fairness of such a picture. "Inside Pan-Arabia" is a misnomer for a book which paints only the dark hues in this way and ignores the brighter. Such overzealous partisanship always defeats its own purpose and this attempt to puncture all Arab claims to greatness and at the same time excoriate British imperialism is ill calculated to produce that better mutual understanding which must be created if the Arab-Jewish question is to be solved.

F. M. Potter

New York City

Palestine Dilemma. By Frank C. Sakran. Washington, D. C., Public Affairs Press, 1948. pp. 347. $3.25.

This book is a "must" for anyone who desires to understand the deep indignation of the Arab world over the Partition of Palestine. It is a thorough treatment of the subject as it gives an illuminating account of the history of this perturbed area, without which it is impossible to form an enlightened opinion on this vexed subject. Though frankly an exposition of the Arab point of view, the author writes with restraint, and with sympathetic appreciation of the many issues involved.

Some of the most thought-provoking pages for the American reader are those which set forth the statements of some of our leading statesmen and administrators. After reading quotations from the late President Roosevelt's letter to King Ibn Saoud following their conference in Cairo and from President Truman's speech in October 1945, it is easy to understand why the Arab has openly accused us of allowing domestic considerations to influence our attitude on this important question of foreign policy. He finds it hard to reconcile our vigorous pressure for partition in the face of Arab opposition with the ringing declaration, "We shall approve no territorial changes in any friendly part of the world unless they accord with the freely expressed wishes of the people concerned."

Whatever may be the reader's final conclusions as to the proper

settlement of a question which has perhaps caused more puzzlement than any other territorial adjustment in the whole world, the reading of this book cannot but produce a far more sympathetic understanding of the Arab and his reaction to the decision of the United Nations for partition.

F. M. POTTER

New York City

Palestine: Star or Crescent? By Nevill Barbour. New York, The Odyssey Press, 1947. pp. x, 310. $3.00.

"The edition of this book published in England appeared under the title *Nisi Dominus,*" and appropriately the opening sentences of the 127th Psalm are printed on the fly-leaf. The story of Zionism, beginning with ancient manifestations of Jewish nationalism, of the Arab occupation of the land, of the relations between Jews and Arabs, and of the British Mandate, are reported probably with greater clarity than in any other brief book in the rapidly growing library on the subject. The moral judgment of Zionistic demands is cumulatively convincing, well documented. It makes explicit the impressions which have marked the thought of many Christian missionaries in the Levant during the past thirty years.

Perhaps only the Zionist who reads this book will fail to see its implications. Because nationalism is a tangle of emotions hardly touched by reason, maybe no writer can reach many Zionists. If any ardent patriot of the new State of Israel reads this argument to the end, he may criticize a few phrases as seeming to him "anti-Jewish," —though surely they were not so intended,—and he may exclaim that the moral delinquency of some of the Arab leadership has been insufficiently paraded.

Entre nous, as missionaries: is it not a pity that Hebrew-speaking nationalists, using the good Biblical verb *shub,* do not observe that its classical meaning is not only *to return,* but also *to repent?* Judaism is, or should be, a religious faith.

Barbour's little book gives a standard for the background of our thought about Palestine, no matter what further exciting events transpire.

MOSES BAILEY

Hartford Theological Seminary

Introducing Yemen. By A. Faroughy. New York, Orientalia, Inc., 1947. pp. 123 plus 2. With 13 plates of photographs and 3 maps.

The author of this small volume has been motivated by a laudable idea: that of producing for the general reader an introductory handbook to this little-known land which has recently come into the ken of American readers as it begins to shed its age-old policy of isolation. Unfortunately, the attempt of the author has not been a success.

Of the two principal sections into which the subject matter is divided, the first is devoted to a general outline of the geographic, economic, educational, ethnological, governmental, and religious status of the country. The second section deals with its history, with special emphasis on the modern period.

The faults of this book lie in the execution rather than in the

conception of its plan. The Yemen is a country which must be seen to be believed and understood, and in the absence of adequate published information on this region it is almost obligatory for anyone writing on this subject to have some personal acquaintance with the country if he is to speak of his subject with any degree of authority. There is, moreover, a certain amount of latter-day mythology which has grown up about the Yemen, and some of this is repeated by Mr. Faroughy without sufficient backing to translate it into the realm of established fact. For example, he repeats statements which have been made by others concerning the alleged "important mineral reserves" of the Yemen. Upon examination, it turns out that these statements are based mainly on notices culled from medieval Arab authors and are for the most part unsubstantiated by modern surveys. It is furthermore not mentioned that even where commercially valuable mineral deposits may exist, the total lack of roads and the generally primeval state of transportation in the country make their exploitation economically impossible.

In the second section of the book (pp. 41-123) the greater emphasis is rightly placed on the events of the more or less contemporary period (pp. 62-123). The main fault that can be found with this is in its presentation, since the material covered is entirely too extensive to be covered in a single chapter. Furthermore, as the narrative progresses it becomes increasingly padded with digressions which are distracting to the reader.

The most serious criticism which can be made of the work as a whole is that the author in many cases has been careless of his statements. Consequently, the text is replete with assertions which are either only partly true or else totally wrong. This state of affairs is amply illustrated by the following examples:

P. 8. It is said that the Yemen is bounded on the south by the British Protectorate of Aden. The existence of Aden Colony has either been entirely ignored or else confused with Aden Protectorate.

On the same page the reader is informed in all seriousness that the average temperature in Tihamah (not Tahama, as written) is 130°F. in the shade. Such a figure is, of course, fantastic, particularly when the variations between summer and winter are considered. Another source more reasonably gives the average temperature of the same region as 25°-35°C. in winter and 35°-45° in summer. 45°C. represents a temperature of 113°F.

P. 12. Mr. Faroughy says that Hodeida is the only important Red Sea commercial center that does not have a large Jewish population. He apparently has overlooked Jidda. No country maintains consular or diplomatic representatives in the Yemen, contrary to the assertion of the author on the same page.

P. 23. The Turks withdrew from the Yemen in 1918, not twenty years ago (cf. p. 51).

P. 33. The figure of 100,000 for the regular Yemeni army is vastly exaggerated. Even if this many men could be mustered, they would certainly not be effectively trained and equipped.

P. 35. The Prophet Muhammad died in 632, not 642 as stated here. The Ismailis are mentioned on the same page as being situated in the southwestern part of the country, but the map opposite page 38 places them just over the northern boundary in Saudi Arabia.

P. 60. The person represented by the photograph on the left-hand side of the plate facing this page is Sayf al-Islam Abdallah, not Husayn.

P. 69. The Arab League was not in existence in 1933 (cf. pp. 78, 90, and 92).

In addition to these errors and contradictions, the book contains slips and errors in transliteration and spelling which are too numerous to catalogue here. It is obvious that there was little or no careful proofreading of the text, for there are also many instances of repeated phrases and even one case of an entire page repeated, while two are misnumbered. A book of this kind could be a valuable source for handy reference to the Yemen, but unfortunately this purpose is not served by the present work.

HAROLD W. GLIDDEN

Cairo, Egypt

How To Be Healthy In Hot Climates. By Eleanor T. Calverley, M.D. New York, Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1949. pp. 275. $3.00.

This is a first class piece of work. It will be given to out-going missionaries from now on, for we have nothing to compare with it. Out-going commercial and industrial men and women will use it too. There are two features which appear in every page: the author's personal experience of many years in one of the hot climates, and her acquaintance with Modern Medicine at its best. The list of authorities in different specialities is impressive and adds to the confidence which the book inspires.

Detailed comment can add little except further commendation. Later editions will be called for, and then experience will probably indicate an expansion of the excellent but very brief discussion of functional nervous disorders and personality traits. A few pages, too, might be devoted to an expansion of the valuable poem on page 5. Microbes really make pretty good eating as any small boy on a farm in America knows. We are in a fair way to develop missionary arrivals who are so worried about their health that they have no time or attention for language study or missionary work.

Dr. Calverley is to be most sincerely congratulated on this book. Frequent editions will give opportunity for revisions. The treatment of malaria, for one thing, will soon settle down to a definite plan. At least we hope so. With such revisions, this book will be a classic and a reinforcement for the missionary enterprise for many, many years.

PAUL W. HARRISON, M.D.

New Brunswick, N. J.

CURRENT TOPICS

The United Nations and Religious Liberty

The Ecumenical & Press Service for November 19, 1948, provides the following important information:

"The (third) Committee of the Assembly of the United Nations has sustained the draft of Article 16 concerning freedom of thought, conscience and religion. The text of the draft of the Commission of Human Rights which the third Committee of the Assembly had before it was as follows:

'Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion; this right includes freedom to change his religion or belief, and freedom, either alone or in community with others and in public or private, to manifest his religion or belief in teaching, worship and observance.'

"The most important amendments proposed in the course of the discussions were the following. The first was submitted by the U.S.S.R. and reads: 'Everyone must be granted freedom of thought and freedom to perform religious services in accordance with the laws of the country concerned and the requirements of public morality.' The Soviet definition advanced only a limited concept of religious freedom and sought to establish the principle that both the understanding and practice of religious freedom are subject to such laws as the state may be disposed to make.

"The Amendment proposed by Saudi Arabia called for the deletion of the entire second half of the Article, leaving only 'Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion.' If adopted, this proposal would merely declare that man has the right to religious freedom without in any sense indicating what that right involves. . . .

"The Russian amendment was defeated by 23 votes to nine. The Saudi Arabia amendment (to delete the words 'freedom to change his religion or belief') was defeated by 22 votes to twelve. The entire article was finally sustained by 38 votes to three (Afghanistan, Iraq, Saudi Arabia)."

Chinese Turkestan

The following paragraphs are quoted from an interesting article in the January 1949 issue of *World Dominion and The World Today,* written by one of the editors, Thomas Cochrane, M.B., C.M.

"Chinese Turkestan, or Sinkiang, is the largest of China's provinces, although the population is sparce and very mixed. The chief ingredient is Turki; Chinese must number less than 10 per cent. in a population of over 4 millions. In the province there are Manchus, Mongols, White Russians and others. Altogether there are about a dozen different groups. Statistics are not reliable but these estimates are probably not far out. The Turki speaking population must be somewhat under 3¼ millions and it is Mohammedan in religion. The Kazakhs also speak Turki and are also Moslems; they would number over 2 per cent. Then there are Chinese Mohammedans. The capital was formerly called Urumchi but it is now called Tihwa.

"Chinese Turkestan was one of the outlying regions that felt the

disintegrating effects of the fall of the Manchu dynasty. As a reaction to the former binding influence of the throne, war-lords rose up one of whom sought help from Russia, which meant a spread of Russian influence. To-day in the three northern district of Turkestan, Russian control is evident. This somewhat resembles the situation in Korea. Communist pressure is being felt in the North-West Frontier Provinces of Pakistan, in Chinese Turkestan, in Mongolia, Manchuria and Korea. The only hope for a relaxation of this pressure is an evidence of the power of a united Western Europe in association with North America. The interest of all Christian and humane men and women cannot fail to be aroused by the physical, cultural and social needs of these vast lands. I know something of the needs at first hand as a result of the time I spent in Mongolia as a medical missionary and from wide travel in Asiatic rural areas.

"The Sinkiang College in Tihwa is the one institute for higher education. A few middle schools exist. Medical service is scant and poor. There are some doctors and two small civil hospitals in the capital, and probably a few others elsewhere. There may be a few Chinese here and there who may have picked up some knowledge of Western medicine and there will be old-time Chinese doctors who, whatever good they may do, cancel it out by the mistakes they make. . . .

"The semi-nomads in Central Asia include those who deal in cattle, grain merchants, carters and transients. In Sinkiang people of this sort are fairly numerous and, moving from place to place, they are not concerned with the appalling sanitary conditions. Such people are also carriers of disease. A carter, for example, may fall ill with dysentery, and when he is too ill to be of use he may be dumped anywhere with no one to care for him. He may die in a caravansary, after spreading infection, and then be thrown out to the flies which infest the highways. . . .

"As I think back to my experiences in Central Asia, I can see again faces that looked to me in profound gratitude for the treatment and relief which I had been able to give. Then when I think of the unrelieved suffering in the thousands of square miles that stretch north, south and west, the old feeling of sorrow and frustration comes over me afresh, and I wonder whether in these regions, so largely dominated by Communists (where missionaries would not only be unwelcome, but would run risk of life itself) there is any way whereby physical misery can be alleviated.

"None but Christians would face the toil and hardship and danger of the service which is so sorely needed in a field like Turkestan. It would be well if some non-missionary group could be inspired to do something by the picture of human need which we have so feebly sought to depict. Missionaries are excluded from many territories like those which I have attempted to describe."

SURVEY OF PERIODICALS

By Sue Molleson Foster
Union Theological Seminary Library

I. GENERAL

Bibliographie Analytique des Religions de l'Égypte, 1939-1943. Jean Sainte Fare Garnot. (In *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions,* Paris. Janvier-Juin, 1946. Nos. 1, 2-3. pp. 145-160; Janvier-Juin, 1947. Nos. 1, 2-3. pp. 162-180).

The fourth and fifth installments of this work.

Classical Education in Palestine. G. F. Hourani. (In *Oversea Education,* London, October, 1948. pp. 792-795).

Planned to introduce young Arabs to European culture and to provide for a better understanding of Arabic culture with its background in Greek, Roman and Byzantine history.

Contemporary Literature of Pakistan. Aslam Malik. (In *Asian Horizon,* London. Winter, 1948. pp. 58-66).

Considers works of poetry, prose and drama by various authors, among whom Iqbal is pre-eminent.

The New Turkish. H. C. Hony. (In the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society,* London. 1947, parts 3-4. pp. 216-221).

A discussion of the changes begun by the body called *Dil Kurumu* (Tongue Establishment).

The Press in Iran To-day. L. P. Elwell-Sutton. (In the *Royal Central Asian Journal,* London. July-October, 1948. pp. 209-219).

Gives a history of newspapers from 1941 and finds *Ettelâ'ât* and *Kêhân* the best and most read, though a really free press is still a desideratum.

Verse Translation and Hafiz. Eric Schroeder. (In the *Journal of Near Eastern Studies,* Chicago. October, 1948. pp. 209-222).

A critical review, with extracts, of A. J. Arberry's "Fifty Poems of Ḥāfīz," by various translators.

II ARABIA

Across the Empty Quarter. W. Thesiger. (In *The Geographical Journal,* London. January-March, 1948. pp. 1-21).

Describes a journey through the eastern Rub'al Khali (October, 1946-May, 1947) and gives information on the various tribes of the region.

Philby of Arabia. R. E. Cheesman. (In *The Geographical Journal,* London. September, 1948. pp. 250-254).

A critical review of "Arabian Days," Philby's autobiography.

III. HISTORY OF ISLAM

Early Islamic Inscriptions near Ṭā'IF in the Ḥijāz. George C. Miles. (In *The Journal of Near Eastern Studies,* Chicago. October, 1948. pp. 236-242).

Describes a Kufic inscription found on the rocks forming a

soil-conservation dam and believed to be the earliest dated historical inscription of Islam. It commemorates 'Abdullāh Mu'āwiyah, first and greatest of the Umayyad caliphs, and is dated 58 (77-8 A.D.).

PIRENNE AND MUHAMMAD. Daniel C. Dennett, Jr. (In *Speculum,* Cambridge, Mass. April, 1948). pp. 165-190).

A critical review of Pirenne's "Muhammed and Charlemagne," the reviewer contending that the Arabs did not close the Mediterranean to Western commerce and were therefore not responsible for the economic debâcle of the Middle Ages.

SECRET JEWS OF PERSIA. Walter J. Fischel. (In *Commentary,* New York. January, 1949. pp. 28-33).

Sketches the history of the Jews in Persia, stressing particularly the Marranos, that is to say Jews forcibly converted to Islam.

IV. KORAN. TRADITION. THEOLOGY

ÉTUDES SUR QIRQISANI. Georges Vajda. (In *Revue des Études Juives,* Paris. Vol. 7 (N.S.), 1946-1947. pp. 52-98).

The second part of a study begun in Vol. 6, 1941-1945, pp. 57-129.

L'ÉVOLUTION PHILOSOPHIQUE D'AVICENNE. A.-M. Goichon. (In *Revue Philosophique,* Paris. Juillet-Septembre, 1948, pp. 318-329).

Analyses "La philosophie orientale" *(al-Hikma al-mashriqīya)* Avicenna's last work, and also touches on his *al-Shifâ."*

SPIRITUAL TEACHINGS IN ISLAM. Joachim Wach. (In *The Journal of Religion,* Chicago. October, 1948. pp. 263-280).

A well-documented account of al-Hujwiri's book, *The unveiling of the veiled,* a work which comprises the theory and practice of Sufism and which has been ably translated by R. A. Nicholson.

V. RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL LIFE

CONDITIONS OF DAILY LIFE IN IRAN, 1947. The Rt. Rev. W. J. Thompson. (In the *Royal Central Asian Journal,* London. July-October, 1948. pp. 199-208).

Improved transportation, the tremendous drive of the oil industry, the resurgence of the Bakhtiari and Qashgai tribes since the death of Reza Shah are accountable for very great changes.

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT IN THE SUDAN. (In *Oversea Education,* London. July, 1948. pp. 742-747).

Tells of progress in the Province of Kordofan, where a five year plan is in operation.

OVER THE HILLS TO YOLA. W. H. L. (In *Nigeria,* Logos. No. 29, 1948. pp. 181-221).

Finely illustrated description of activities being carried on in Adamawa Province.

SOME QUESTIONS RAISED IN THE MIDDLE EAST. Edna M. Baxter. (In *The Journal of Bible and Religion,* Baltimore. October, 1948. pp. 197-200).

A religious educator recounts impressions of social conditions

in the Levant and laments the slight influence of Christianity in the area.

THE STRUCTURE OF MOSLEM SOCIETY IN INNER MONGOLIA. Shinobu Iwamura. (In *The Far Eastern Quarterly,* Ithaca, N. Y. November, 1948. pp. 34-44).

Reports results of a social survey undertaken by the Institute of Ethnology and embracing twenty-eight Moslem communities.

THE TRIBES OF THE SUBANSIRI REGION. Prof. C. von Fürer-Haimendorf. (In the *Royal Central Asian Journal,* London. July-October, 1948. pp. 238-248).

Describes native manners and customs in part of the Balipara Frontier Tract.

VI. POLITICAL RELATIONSHIPS

INDEPENDENT SYRIA AND LEBANON. George Kirk. (In the *Royal Central Asian Journal,* London. July-October, 1948. pp. 259-272).

Since the withdrawal of British and French troops in 1946, it is obvious that Russia will introduce revolutionary methods unless social and economic reforms are instituted.

KHUZISTAN PAST AND PRESENT. Dr. L. Lockhart. (In *The Asiatic Review,* London. October, 1948. pp. 410-416).

This province in South-West Persia, one of the oldest civilized areas in the world, is now much involved with the Great Powers because of the growing oil industry.

VII. INDIA AND PAKISTAN

THE FINANCIAL AND ECONOMIC PROSPECTS OF PAKISTAN. Sir Archibald Rowlands. (In the *Royal Central Asian Journal,* London. July-October, 1948. pp. 226-237).

The author, formerly Finance Minister in India, believes that with competent leadership and administration the country will be "viable."

PAKISTAN. (In *The Round Table,* London. September, 1948. pp. 798-801. December, 1948. pp. 71-75).

Despite the lamented death of Mr. Jinnah, the new Gov. Gen., Khwaja Nazimuddin, assisted by Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan as Prime Minister is consolidating the young dominion successfully.

PARTITION AND INDIANS OVERSEAS. G. S. Bozman. (In *The Asiatic Review,* London. October, 1948. pp. 389-406).

Discusses the question of double citizenship and its problems.

THE TRANSFER OF POWER IN INDIA, AND SINCE. Rt. Hon. Lord Clydesmuir. (In *The Asiatic Review,* London. October, 1948. pp. 385-389).

An historical resumé ending on a hopeful note for the future.

A YEAR OF INDEPENDENCE IN INDIA AND PAKISTAN. Sir William Barton. (In *The Quarterly Review,* London. October, 1948. pp. 469-484).

Gives an account of outstanding events and, despite Kashmir and Junagadh, finds that much progress has been made toward harmony.

VIII. PALESTINE

CAN OIL AND ISRAEL MIX? Ernest Aschner. (In *Commentary,* New York. November, 1948. pp. 444-448).

The Jews' seizure of the Negev, which Britain and America wish to incorporate in Transjordan, presents a difficult problem.

LESSONS IN PALESTINE. G. L. Arnold. (In *The Nineteenth Century and After,* London. October, 1948. pp. 192-201).

Discusses British and American aims and methods which, though divergent, are both directed against the spread of Communism in the Near East.

MORE LESSONS OF PALESTINE. George E. Kirk. (In *The Nineteenth Century and After,* London. December, 1948. pp. 336-342).

A well-documented anti-Zionist article opposing Mr. G. L. Arnold's "Lessons of Palestine."

PALESTINE. Sir Alan Cunningham. (In *International Affairs,* London. October, 1948. pp. 481-490).

Covers the last days of the Mandate.

UNE STATION GHASSOULIENNE DU HAURAN. Père J. Nasrallah. (In *Revue Biblique,* Paris. Janvier, 1948. pp. 81-103).

An account of paleolithic findings at Dera'a.

TEL AVIV: MESSIAH IN A BUSINESS SUIT. Jon Kimche. (In *Commentary,* New York. December, 1948. pp. 528-535).

A survey of Israel's first half-year of national existence with praise for the leadership of Prime Minister Ben Gurion.

IX. MISSIONS TO MOSLEMS

Neglected Arabia. New York. (Summer, 1948. pp. 1-14.)

Contains articles by M. Heusinkveld, J. Boersma, J. R. Kapenga, K. DeJong and E. M. Luidens on various phases of mission work.

A SURVEY OF THE YEAR 1948. (In *The International Review of Missions,* London. January, 1949. pp. 23-29; 32-40).

The Palestine issue, increasing Arab solidarity and unity, has affected the missionary enterprise in all fields of the Near East and North Africa, but encouraging developments are to be seen in medical, rural and youth work.

A TROUBLE SPOT OF THE WORLD. A. D. Iliff. (In *World Dominion and The World To-day,* London. November-December, 1948. pp. 1333-337).

Only the spread of the Gospel of Christ can ever quell the fighting, fanatical spirit of the Mahsuds of Waziristan.

WHITHER ISLAM AND CHRISTIANITY? Eric Bishop. (In *The East and West Review,* London. January, 1949. pp. 29-32).

United research and frank discussion centered around the New Testament and the Qur'an are greatly to be desired.